



THE ANCESTOR

A Quarterly Review of County and
Family History, Heraldry
and Antiquities

EDITED BY
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NUMBER V
APRIL 1903

LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO LTD
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA

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¹ In the notes to these pictures of English dress the Editor has had the advantage of the assistance of the Viscount Dillon, P.S.A.

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SIR PETER CAREW.

See Article "The Origin of the Carews."

THE FAMILY PICTURES AT BELHUS

AS the first illustration in this article is one of Belhus it will be well to give some account of the house itself, which, situated in the parish of Aveley—formerly called Alvethley—lies not far from the Thames towards the south-west corner of Essex. At one time the manor of Belhus was called Nortons, and in the old Court Rolls is styled the ‘Manor of Belhouse alias Nortons.’ During the reign of Richard II. Thomas de Belhouse married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard de Norton of Aveley, by whom he obtained considerable lands in that parish, and after this alliance the old name of the manor was changed to that of her husband’s family.

The family of de Belhus¹ which was one of considerable importance in Essex and Norfolk during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, has long since been extinct in the male line. Their name, however, still lingers on in more than one manor in Norfolk, and in Essex it is brought more prominently into notice, forming as it does in the case of Ramsden Belhus, an integral part of the name of that village.

One of our deeds show that in 1349 Robert Barrett was living at Hawkhurst in Kent, and his son John, who died in or before 1405, married Alice, one of the two co-heiresses of Thomas de Belhus, and thereupon he settled himself in Aveley.

His great grandson, who was also named John, became eminent at the Bar, and was the object of one of Leland’s epigrams which begins ‘Ad Johannem Barrettum Juris Peritum.’ He added considerably to the estate he had inherited, and rebuilt his house; the exact date of this rebuilding is not known, but it must have been previously to 1526 as his death is shown by an Inquisition to have occurred on the 4th of October in that year.

Sir Edward Barrett, Lord Newburgh, the great-great-grandson of this John obtained a charter of free warren, and

¹ In ancient documents the name is variously spelt ‘de Belhous,’ ‘de Belhouse,’ and ‘de Belhus.’

a licence to form a park, which he did, throwing several small farms near his house into grass, and surrounding them with a deer fence. Thomas Lennard, Lord Dacre, writing about 1750, says of the house which his predecessor, John, had built: 'This house, but much repaired and improved, still subsists, excepting that the Great Gate house, which had a large Chamber over it and several others on each side, was pulled down about sixty years ago as it entirely hindered the view of the Park and Country. And of later years for the same reason, the Old Gardens that surrounded the House were removed, which (tho' handsome in the old fashion) with their high Walls entirely shut out the Prospect.' The view we have here of Belhus shows as little as possible of 'the improvements' which Lord Dacre referred to, and as much as possible of John's building.

A person cannot be justly blamed for want of taste if he follows out the teachings of those, who in his lifetime, are the generally recognized exponents of art. Greatly to the regret of more than one generation of his descendants, Lord Dacre was an intimate friend and disciple of Horace Walpole, who in those days was considered one of the greatest authorities on all matters of taste, and the result of his pernicious influence was that under Lord Dacre's directions, a considerable portion of the house has been rebuilt in 'Strawberry Hill' Gothic, to the entire destruction of its former picturesque appearance. Belhus is by no means the only old house which has had its charm destroyed by the misdirected zeal for its improvement of those most attached to it; indeed, most old houses in England have suffered more or less from 'improvements,' and many have been pulled down and entirely rebuilt, so we may be thankful that Lord Dacre has spared as much as he has done, and that John Barrett's tower, and also the north front, are still standing.

The special interest attaching to the family portraits at Belhus arises not so much on account of their intrinsic value—there are no Gainsboroughs or Hoppners among them—as from the fact that they consist of representations of all its owners and their wives since the days of Elizabeth. Owing to frequent instances of longevity in our family, my father is only the fifth owner of Belhus since the days of Sir Edward Barrett, who was born about the time England was being threatened by the Spanish Armada. This continuity of por-



BELIUS, NORTH VIEW.



traits would not therefore in itself be so remarkable, but the collection contains besides portraits of the owners of Belhus, also those of all the Lennards and their wives, who succeeded each other since the days of Samson Lennard, who, born in the reign of Henry VIII., took an active part in defending the county of Kent from the Spanish attack.

The bulk of the collection was got together by the exertions of Thomas, Lord Dacre, the last Lennard to bear that title. He was a posthumous child, being born on 20 April, 1717, four months after the death of his father, and he succeeded to the ownership of Belhus on the death of his grandfather, Dacre Barrett which took place in January 172 $\frac{1}{2}$. Richard Barrett, Lord Dacre's father, married his cousin, Lady Anne Lennard, one of the two daughters of Thomas Lennard, Lord Dacre, Earl of Sussex. The earl died in 1715 leaving only two daughters, the Ladies Barbara and Anne, surviving him, and although the earldom then became extinct, the far older barony of Dacre remained only in abeyance until the line of one of his two co-heiresses should fail. This took place in 1741, when on the death of Lady Barbara Skelton, who was the elder, without issue, her sister became Baroness Dacre in her own right; and she in turn dying in 1755 was succeeded in the title by her son Thomas.

The marriage of Richard with his cousin Lady Anne met the most determined opposition from his father Dacre; the reason for which, as the match was in so many ways an advantageous one, was probably entirely because Lady Anne had, to use the language of those days, been 'bred a Papist.' Without some reflection, it is difficult to realize how strong at that time was the antipathy with which Protestants regarded Roman Catholics; moreover Dacre had spent many years of his life in Ireland where he no doubt had talked with those to whom the memory of the horrors of the Protestant massacre of 1641 was still as a vivid nightmare, and he himself had had to fly with his wife and children on the breaking out of Tyrconnel's rebellion; his property there was greatly damaged, his town of Clones destroyed, and the impossibility of collecting rents for a considerable period in so disturbed a country as Ireland then was had brought him almost to the brink of ruin. No wonder that he hated the idea of his only son marrying a person of that religion which was associated in his mind with such disastrous events. Richard tried in vain both before, and

after his marriage to obtain his father's forgiveness for the step he had taken ; and being attacked by the then very prevalent scourge of smallpox, died within a few months of his marriage. His death is recorded thus in *The Annals of George I.* under the headings of deaths in January 1717 :—

The Honourable Mr. Barre'tt of Essex who married the only daughter of the Earl of Sussex.¹

The Lady Henrietta de Grey.

The Countess of Berkeley.

The Lady Teinham.

The Lady Molineux. N.B.—All these dy'd of the small pox, save that the two last ladies being Big with child miscarried also.

Lord Dacre, to give him the title to which he eventually succeeded, was at first brought up by his mother, but before many years had elapsed, his grandfather Dacre successfully brought a Chancery action to have the boy educated by persons of his own selection. He was at first sent to a school at Greenwich, then to Harrow, and eventually to Cambridge, and was also admitted a member of Lincoln's Inn. Delicate as a boy, he was never strong, and for years was a martyr to rheumatism. George Hardinge, who was a connection of his, says of him in a letter published some years after his death that 'he was very like Charles the first in the face'² he also says that he was 'a very elegant scholar and the best company in the world when in tollerable health and spirits but he was peevish at times from bad health ; he was a remarkably good Herald & Antiquary.' His tastes as this letter indicates were chiefly artistic and literary, and such of his correspondence as has been preserved relates more to these subjects than to political affairs. Horace Walpole was a considerable friend of his, and so were many of the literary men of that day. The *Gentleman's Magazine* in noticing Lord Dacre's death, says that 'in politicks he was to use his own words a true and zealous friend of liberty and the Protestant religion.'

One of the few references to his taking any part in political matters that I have seen, occurs in one of Horace Walpole's published letters, where the writer says : 'Yesterday there was a flurry in the House of Lords when Lord Dacre who seldom interferes in politics vehemently attacked the Government for

¹ There were in fact two daughters.

² From whom he was descended, his grandmother being the daughter of Charles II. and the Duchess of Cleveland.



THOMAS BARRETT LENNARD LORD DACRE, D. 1786; ANNE LADY DACRE, D. 1806; THEIR ONLY CHILD BARBARA, D. 1749.

its proposal to enlist foreigners amongst our troops, which he was determined to resist with such influence as he had.'

On 15 May, 1739, Lord Dacre married at St. George's Chapel, Hyde Park, Anne Maria Pratt, a daughter of Sir John Pratt, Lord Chief Justice, and a sister of Charles Pratt, afterwards to become Lord Chancellor with the title of Earl Camden. A daughter who was christened Barbara was the only issue of this marriage, and she died prematurely before attaining her tenth year. Lord Dacre compiled an account of his family, and in it he refers to his child in the following terms:

This Anne Barbara (Ah bitter day) was snatched away by a violent fever on the 14th of March 1749, just as she was entering into the 10th year of her age. Her person was such as gained her favour at first sight, and was an earnest of her mind. It was not possible to find a fault in her shape; her shoulders fell from her neck with a peculiar grace, her hair was of the darkest brown, her complexion the finest white and red, and her skin so delicate that every vein was perfectly discovered through it, the form of her face was round, tho' inclining to an oval; her mouth of a middle size, and her nose rather small than large; her eyebrows were narrow and most exactly arched; her eyes were of the finest bleu and had a mixture of softness and Liveliness in them,—inexpressible, and (which gave them a particular Beauty) her Eyelashes were most remarkably long; and as dark as her hair. The picture that remains of her when eight years old by no means does her justice. As to the perfections of her mind, they are not so easy to be described, let it suffice then to say that she was all sweetness and goodness, at the same time that she was most remarkably sprightly, and of an understanding and quickness of apprehension, so superior and uncommon, that she surprised and delighted everyone that talked with her.—This may be thought a flattering representation of her, But in truth it is not, and therefore (though at the hazard of being thought partial by those who have not known her) I could not resist the desire I had to pay this tribute and this justice to her memory.

When Lord Dacre succeeded his grandfather Dacre Barrett, he found himself the owner of a large country house, but with no furniture in it, as Dacre had left nearly everything that was not entailed to his daughter Mrs. Jane Ranby. He left, however, three portraits to be kept as heirlooms, namely, those of Sir Edward Barrett, Lord Newburgh; Richard Lennard, Lord Dacre; and his wife Dorothy (North), who were Dacre Barrett's grandparents. All the rest of the present collection were probably obtained by the efforts of Lord Dacre as he did not inherit the Lennard pictures from his mother either, they going to the children of her subse-

quent husbands, from whom Lord Dacre obtained them, some at one time and some at another.

The Barrett pictures he was probably given, some by Mr. Mildmay, his father's cousin, and some by his aunt, Mrs. Ranby, his grandfather's legatee. The picture of Samson Lennard which illustrates this article is one of five which were sent to him from Paris by his aunt, Lady Barbara Skelton, in 1739. They had doubtless all once hung on the walls of Hurstmonceaux or of Chevening, and upon the sale of the latter in the month of June 1717, when the sisters, Anne and Barbara, divided their father's personal property, had fallen to the share of the latter. Lady Barbara was more considerate of her nephew's wish to possess the portraits of his ancestors than was his own mother, as she gave to him during her lifetime the share of the family pictures that descended to her, while Lady Anne appears to have taken no steps to prevent her's passing away from the son of her first marriage, to whom they naturally possessed a far greater interest than to any other person, and going as they did to her children by her subsequent marriages with Lord Teynham and with Mr. Moore. In this respect these children also were more considerate than their mother had been, for they all with one accord agreed to give up their shares in these pictures to Lord Dacre their half-brother, and wrote to him very cordial letters on the subject. The Honourable Mrs. Tyler, his mother's daughter by her second husband, says :

'I hear you are taking the trouble of getting the old pictures cleaned that you have so long been kind enough to give house room to . . . in which as I have a right to my share to beg you my Dearest Brother to accept from me any right I may have in those Pictures, and to look upon them as you own Sole and proper Right, which indeed they ought to be from every Reason ; their value is in reality nothing, as family Pictures can be of none but to The persons whose Ancestors they were¹ and who for that reason has a right to Them but you my Dear Brother.'

We have the following memorandum by Lord Dacre referring to two of the pictures illustrating this article : 'I purchased soon after my mother's death of my father-in-law,² Mr. Moore, for forty pounds (which they were valued at

¹ What would Mrs. Tyler say had she lived to see the recent sales of portraits by artists in fashion at the present day ?

² Meaning what we now call stepfather. Lady Anne's third husband was the Hon. R. Moore.



MARY FYNES LADY DACRE.



by Mr. Pond a noted painter) the picture of Henry Lennard, Lord Dacre, a whole length, and the picture of Mary wife of Thomas Fynes, Lord Dacre, of quarter length, by Lucas de Heer.'

Thomas Lord Dacre died in 1786, and subject to certain legacies he left all his property to his wife for her life, with the remainder to his illegitimate son Thomas,¹ provided that his conduct should be such as should meet with her approval.

We have three pictures of Thomas, Lord Dacre, the one which I have selected for illustration is a group consisting of himself, his wife, and their child. This picture was painted in Rome about 1750 by Pompeo Battoni, who enjoyed then a considerable reputation. The portrait of the child was painted from a picture of her by Hudson, which the parents took with them to Rome for the purpose of having this group done by some good Italian master. Hudson's picture was painted when Barbara was eight years old, and her father said that it 'by no means does her justice'; however that may be, Battoni is said to have admired the execution of it so much that although he painted the figure of the child from Hudson's picture, he insisted on leaving the face a blank so that the latter might put it in on their return home.

The earliest in date of the Belhus portraits are those of Thomas Fynes, Lord Dacre; and of his wife Mary, who was a daughter of the then Lord Abergavenny. This Lord Dacre had a short but tragic career, being hanged at Tyburn on 21 June, 1541, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. He was descended from Sir Roger Fynes, a great warrior who fought in France under the Kings Henry V. and VI., and we have an indenture of war or agreement between himself and the former, regulating terms upon which he was to serve in the French wars. Sir Roger built the castle of Hurstmonceaux, the ruins of which are so well known to visitors at Eastbourne, during the reign of the latter king; and to this, and to very considerable estates, the Lord Dacre who came to this untimely end succeeded in 1534-5, when only seventeen years of age. Hollinshed says, in his account of the journey of Anne of Cleves towards London: 'As she passed towards Rochester,

¹ He assumed the names of Barrett and Lennard by Royal licence in accordance with his father's will, and was created a baronet 1801.

on New Yeares euen, on Reinam¹ Downe met hir the Duke of Norffolke and the Lord Dacres of the South.' The same historian gives quite a long account of the events that led to his execution. It would appear from Stow's Annals that stealing deer was not an uncommon amusement among young men of that period, and it was probably prompted by the same misdirected spirit of adventure as gave rise to the riotous proceedings of the Mohawks in the time of Queen Anne, and to the wanton aggressions by rowdy young men on the 'Charlies' or night-watchmen a century later.

In the month of April, 1541, Lord Dacre with some companions went out at night to hunt deer in the park of Sir Nicholas Pelham, not far from Hurstmonceaux. A fray ensued between Lord Dacre's party and a body of three men, who were probably watching Sir Nicholas's deer in order to prevent them from being stolen. One of these men received such injury that he died of his wounds, and Lord Dacre and his friends were tried and found guilty of murder. He does not appear to have been present at the spot where the fatal blow was given, and the law was strained in order to convert him into an accomplice. There is the following MS. note by Samson Lennard who married his daughter: 'His ruin was pushed on by two privy counsellors who gaped for his estate, which however they missed of not knowing it was so greatly entailed.' Camden says also: 'His great estate which the greedy courtiers gaped after caused them to hasten his destruction.' Hollinshed's account of the transaction ends thus: 'He was not past foure and twentie yeeres of age when he came through this great mishap to his end, for whom manie sore lamented, and likewise for the other three gentlemen, but for the said young lord being a right towardlie gentleman, and such a one as manie had conceiued great hope of better prooffe, no small mone and lamentation was made, the more indeed that it was thought he was induced to attempt such follie which occasioned his death by some light heads that were then about him.' His son and daughter were restored in blood and honours by an Act of Parliament in the first year of Elizabeth's reign.

Our portrait of Thomas Fynes is one of those that Lord Dacre obtained from his aunt, Lady Barbara Skelton. That of his wife, which illustrates this article, represents her writing,

¹ Rainham.



SAMSON LENNARD, D. 1615.



and in the background on the wall of the room, there will be observed, is a small representation of the previously mentioned picture by Holbein of her husband. Horace Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting* speaks of this portrait of Lady Dacre, and he says that it passed for many years as a Holbein, until Vertue discovered de Heere's mark in one of the corners. There is also the following reference to these two pictures in George Hardinge's *Miscellaneous Works*: 'There is at Belhus by a painter of the name of De Hier (*sic*) a portrait of her (Mary wife of Thomas, Lord Dacre), that is absolutely alive. There is also a masterly portrait of him by Holbein, and a miniature of that very picture is part of the furniture of the room in which his widow is described as sitting in her portrait.'

The next pictures in chronological order are those of Samson Lennard and of his wife Margaret, who was the only daughter of the preceding Lord and Lady Dacre. Samson, eldest son of John Lennard of Chevening and Knolle, Custos Brevium of the Common Pleas, was born 1544, died 1615. He was a somewhat prominent man in his day, being a member for several parliaments, High Sheriff for Kent in 1591, and he commanded a body of Light Horse when England was threatened by the Spanish Invasion. In 1564 or 1565 he married Margaret Fynes who was heir presumptive to the title and estates of her brother Gregory Fynes, Lord Dacre. During the lifetime of the latter, Samson and his wife had constant disputes, and litigation with him about these estates, and at one period of these contentions Margaret presented a petition to the queen, entitled, 'The Greyfes of M^{rs} Margaret Lennard syster and heyre apparent unto the now Lord Dacres of the southe.' The subject is too long to go into here, the disputes were ended in a compromise, and Margaret's rights to some of her brother's very considerable estates were secured to her in the event of his dying without issue in her lifetime. After the death in 1594 of Gregory, Samson's wife laid claim to the title of Dacre, and the matter was referred by Elizabeth to Lords Burghley and Howard of Effingham. They reported in 1596 that 'finding the Clayme of the petition to bee duly and substancially grounded and proved doe signifie our opinions thereof namely That the said Barony of Dacres appeareth to haue descended formerly vnto the heires generalls when and as often the

heyres males thereof haue failed and y^t the said Margaret by the death of her said lo and Brother without issue is the only heire of y^t house or family now surviving Her Ma^{tie} may at her good pleasure allow vnto her the name Stile and dignity of the same Barony.'

In spite of this finding in her favour Margaret does not appear to have been recognized by the queen as Baroness Dacre, as we have another award eight years later signed by six peers to whom James I. had submitted her claim. This award, which also recognized her right to the title, is dated 8 December, 1604. As soon as his wife's right to the barony had been admitted, Samson claimed the title *jure uxoris*, and in this he would have been successful had not her death in 1611 put an end to these proceedings; the King acknowledged his right, and gave him by a patent dated April, 1612, precedence as the eldest son of Lord Dacre, and he died a few years later on 20 September, 1615. The picture we have of him, and the best of the two we have of Margaret, were among those given to Lord Dacre by Lady Barbara; and a Mr. Watkinson, who wrote from her house in Paris on 1 December, 1739, about this gift of pictures, describes them as 'Sampson Lennard and Marg^t Fines on Boards by Corn^s Johnson, or at least I I believe so two pictures.' Mr. Watkinson was misinformed as to the name of the artist of these pictures as Cornelius Janson, or as he was sometimes called Johnson, is not believed to have painted any portraits in England until after 1618, and we have seen that both Margaret and Samson died previously to this date. In the chancel of Chevening church, which was built by John Lennard, there is a very fine monument to Samson and his wife.

Sir Henry, who was born in March 1569, was the eldest son of Samson and Margaret, and succeeded her in the title of Dacre upon her decease in 1611; he died comparatively young, within a year of his father, in 1616. Henry Lennard a distinguished person in society; he formed one of the expedition against Cadiz, and was amongst those knighted there on 27 June, 1596, for his services on that occasion; in the following year he was elected member of Parliament for West Looe in Cornwall. He was an intimate friend of William Earl of Pembroke, and his brother-in-law, Sir Philip Sydney; and is said to have been with the latter when he was killed in the wars in the Netherlands. Sir



SIR HENRY LENNARD LORD DACRE, D. 1616.



William Browne, writing to Sir Robert Sydney in 1601 and 1602, mentions meeting Sir Henry at Lord Pembroke's house, and in one of these letters says : 'Myself came the same day to London very weary yett made a steppe to my Lord of Pembroke, whom I found not within. There I mett with Sir Henry Leonard whose good company stayed me there so long till my Lord himself came in.' Sampson Lennard the Herald published a translation from the French of a history of the persecution of the Waldenses which he dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, and he asks for his 'Honourable protection' for his work. In the dedication he says : 'The reasons that embolden me to request this favour at your hands are principally these : First the loue you once bare to my honourable friend & deare cozen, Henry Lord Dacres of the South, the want of whom I feel the lesse, because I feel no want of loue in yourself towards me for his sake.'

Sir Henry married a daughter of Sir Richard Baker of Sissinghurst, Kent, who had the somewhat uncommon name of Chrysogona ; she died within a few weeks of her husband. He was succeeded in the title of Dacre by his eldest son Richard, of whom we have a portrait said to be by Van Dyck. Richard died in 1630, and was succeeded by his eldest son Francis. His son Richard by his second wife Dorothy (North) had the Manor of Horsford in Norfolk for his portion, and was left Belhus by his kinsman, Sir Edward Barrett, Lord Newburgh.

The picture we have of Sir Edward Barrett is said by Lord Dacre in his catalogue to be by Cornelius Jansen, and he describes it as 'a very good one.'

Edward Barrett, the great-great-grandson of John Barrett (who as we have seen built Belhus), was born in 1680, and succeeded his grandfather Edward when he was five years old. Soon after he came of age he set out on his travels and journeyed through France, Italy and Spain. In a letter from Valladolid, dated 1605, he speaks of the great wealth then existing in Spain compared with England, and says : 'This countrie is so full of money that they esteem less of 5^s than we do in England of 6^d and after this rate all things are valued here ; my lodging will cost me 23 ducats¹ a month, and I have only 3 chambers for my money.'

¹ Sir Edward found the rate of Exchange at Seville to be 5s. 6d. for a ducat.

Edward Barrett was a prominent man in his day ; he was knighted by James I. at Newmarket in 1608 ; he represented Whitchurch, Hants, in 1614 ; and Newport, Devon, in 1621. In the following reign he soon obtained further advancement, being created Baron Newburgh of Fife in the kingdom of Scotland in 1627, and in July of the following year he was appointed a member of the Privy Council ; and in August was sworn Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer. Not long after he was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which post he held until his death in 1644. In the first year of Charles' reign Sir Edward was appointed Ambassador to France, but for some reason which I am not able to discover he never filled that post.

His first wife was Jane, daughter of Sir Edward Carey, Master of the Jewel Office, by whom he had only one girl, who died young, and by his second wife, who was the widow of Hugh Perry (Sheriff of London, 1633), he had no issue. By his will he left his Essex property to Richard Lennard, second son of Richard, Lord Dacre, upon condition that he assumed the name of Barrett. Lords Newburgh and Dacre were cousins by a common descent from Elizabeth Dinely, as her son by her first husband was Lord Newburgh's grandfather, and her granddaughter by her second husband was Lord Dacre's mother.

Thomas, Lord Dacre, in his account of his family, speaks of a tradition that the reason Lord Newburgh left Belhus to Richard was that 'when he was single he was in love with Dorothy North, but that she preferred Richard Lennard, Lord Dacre, who was the younger man, and had the largest estate, notwithstanding which Lord Newburgh always preserved such a regard for her that it was the principal motive for his leaving her son his Family Estate.'

Francis Lennard, Lord Dacre, who took a considerable part in political affairs during the time of the Rebellion, died in 1662, and was succeeded in the title by his eldest son Thomas, afterwards created Earl of Sussex. His half brother Richard, who had assumed the name of Barrett, died in 1696, and was succeeded by his eldest son who was christened Dacre after the family title. Dacre Barrett's son Richard, as we have seen, married one of the daughters of the Earl of Sussex and his wife (Lady Anne Fitz Roy).

There are two pictures at Belhus of Lady Anne Fitz Roy,



SIR EDWARD BARRETT LORD NEWBURGH, D. 1644.

the one illustrated here is painted by M. Dahl, the Swedish painter, and Lord Dacre says that when that artist saw it some years after he had painted it 'he acknowledged it to be one of his masterpieces.' The prototype of this picture was born 'the 25th Feb^y being Shrove Munday about 10 of the clock anno 1660,'¹ nine months after the Restoration of Charles the Second. She was the first child of her mother, Mrs. Palmer, afterwards to be so well known as the Duchess of Cleveland, and of whom Oldmixon says in his *History of England*: 'Tis not a secret that she was the lewdest as well as the fairest of all King Charles's concubines.'

The old saying that 'Tis a wise child that knows its own father,' was singularly applicable to her case. Her mother did not separate from her husband for some years after her birth, and he acknowledged Anne as his child, and though he does not in terms describe her as his daughter in his will, by that document he appointed her to be one of his trustees, and left her both real and personal property, and also jewels. The king and her mother passed the night of the Restoration together, and he claimed her as his child, and granted her the royal arms with the bâton sinister; and the duchess in a letter written to Charles some eighteen years later, when she had broken with the king, and was quarrelling with her daughter, says: 'Though I am so good a Christian as to forgive her, yeat I can not so fare conquer myself as to se her dayly, though your Ma^y may be confydent that as she is vours, I shall allwayes haue som remains of that kindness I had formerly, for I can hate nothing that is yours.' On the other hand many persons believed her father to have been the Earl of Chesterfield, who was her mother's first lover, and whom she is said to have much resembled both in face and person.

In August 1674, when only in her fourteenth year, the Lady Anne was married at Hampton Court to Thomas Lennard, Lord Dacre, who was one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber. The ceremony was performed by Dr. Crew, Bishop of Oxford, in the presence of the king, who gave the bride away. To provide for the wedding clothes of Lady Anne, and of her sister Lady Charlotte, the duchess purchased of William Gosling & Co., lacemen,

¹ 1661 of our reckoning.

gold and silver lace to the value of £846 8s. 6d.; of Benjamin Drake, milliner, wares to the amount of £315 18s. 6d.; of Nicholas Fownes, mercer, wares to the amount of £642 14s. 6d.; of John Eaton, lace and other things to the amount of £1,082 8s. 10d.; of Peter Pretty & Co., mercers, wares to the amount of £55 11s.; amounting in all to £2,943 1s. 4d.; and of this amount the king paid out of the secret service funds £1,599 18s. In August of that year he granted her husband from his secret service fund an annuity of £2,000 as a dower for his wife; and in the September following he charged a lump sum of £20,000 upon a specific fund, viz. on the indemnity of 200,000 'patacoons' which was due from the States General of the Netherlands in accordance with the then recent treaty of peace; this sum of £20,000 was to be in lieu of the annuity.¹

In October the king raised Lord Dacre to the dignity of an earl by the title of Sussex; and in the December following Andrew Marvel writes: 'Some ladies tell me that there is a collection of pearls making in all parts to make a necklace of 8,000 li which the King presents to the Countess of Sussex.'

About this time she was acting at the Court in a Masque called 'Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph,' and no doubt formed part of what we should now call the 'fast set' in the society of those days; one of her most intimate companions being the infamous Duchess of Mazarine, with whom she showed herself constantly in public places. Lady Chaworth says in a letter dated 25 December, 1676, that 'she (Lady Sussex) and Madam Mazarine have privately learnt to fence, and went down into St. James's Park the other day with drawn swords under their night gowns, which they drew out and made several fine passes with, to the admiration of several men which was lookers on in the Park.'

The earl's London house was in Warwick Street, St. Martin's in the Fields, and he seemed to be determined to get her away from there, and from her fast London life, in the hopes that in the comparative solitude of Hurstmonceaux she would shake off the bad influence of Madam Mazarine, and her other rapid friends who were about the Court. We read, 'They say her husband and she will part unless she leave the

¹ The annuity was only paid for a very few years, and the lump sum of £20,000 is still owing. The Earl of Sussex, and after his death his daughters, in vain made efforts to obtain payment of it.



LADY ANNE FITZ ROY COUNTESS OF SUSSEX, D. 1721.

Court, and be content to live with him in the Countrey, he disliking her much converse with Madam Mazarine, and the addresses she gets among that company.'

We have the gossiping Lady Chaworth again writing: 'Lord Sussex is well again, and continues peremptory to take his wife out of towne, & she is to conclude dancing with the ball tonight att the Dutchesse's, and goes out of towne they say to-morrow, or next day.' Soon after her retirement into the country in January 1676-7, she was reported to be very ill, and we are told that 'phisitians' had gone down to see her. Her illness whether it was a real one, or only a fit of moping brought on by her being taken away from the gay circle of her friends and admirers, did not last long, as we soon hear of her being 'mighty pleased with fox and hare hunting.' She appears to have much regretted her separation from her favourite companion, the duchess, as we learn that 'she kisses Madam Mazarine's picture every day.'

The first of her children, Lady Barbara, was born in London on 12 July, 1676, the year before she had retired to Hurstmonceaux, when she was not much more than fifteen years old.

The delights of hunting do not seem to have been sufficient to reconcile Lady Sussex to living quietly in the country with her husband for any length of time, as in 1677 or 1678 she was over in Paris with her mother, the duchess, who then resided there. The duchess had occasion to come over for a short period to England, and during her absence she left her daughter under the care of the Abbess of Conflans, near Paris. During the residence of the duchess in Paris, she had carried on an intrigue with the Hon. Ralph Montagu (afterwards duke of that name) who was the English Ambassador there.

The most revolting episode in Lady Sussex's career of profligacy occurred during her mother's visit to England, as she took the opportunity of her mother's absence to supplant her in the affections of Montagu; and the duchess says in a letter to the king: 'She (Lady Sussex) has never been in the monestery two daies together, but every day gone out with the ambassador; and has often layen four daies together at my house, & sent for her meat to the Ambassador, he being allwaies with her till 5 a'clock in y^e morning they two shut up together alone . . . This made so great a noise at Paris, that she is now the holle discours.'

I am not able to say what King Charles wrote to the duchess in reply, but from the tenor of a second letter from her to him, it is clear that his letter was quite satisfactory to her, as she says : 'I did this morning send your letter to my Lady Sussex by my Gentleman of the hors.' Not long after this Lady Sussex went back to live with her husband who, no doubt, was quite ignorant of these love passages in Paris between her and 'the Ambassador.'

The reconciliation was brought about by pressure from the king himself ; we have a letter written on 4 June, 1678, by Ann Barrett¹ (who was a cousin of the earl) in which she says :

My L^d Sussex has received a message by S^r Thomas Bond and Colonel Villars from his Lady to receive her again, and 'tis believed if he should refuse, which he has not yett, butt defers his answer till she has writt to him herself, the Dutchess will prevaile wth the King to stopp his pension of 2000 li a yeare, and by that means force him to it ; I hope the hearing she is much handsomer than ever will revive my L^ds old Love, and without trying rough meanes they may come together and live as affectionately as S^r John Williams and his Lady, who are now as fond a couple as your faire Mistress and M^r Finch who have been married 3 weeks.

We have no evidence as to how the earl and his countess got on together after her return, but the following lines by Rochester written about this date show what sort of reputation Lady Sussex then enjoyed :

And here would time permit me I could tell
Of Cleveland, Portsmouth, Crofts & Arundel,
Moll Howard, Su—x, Lady Grey and Nell,
Strangers to good, but bosom Friends to ill,
As boundless in their lusts, as in their will.

And there are more references to her in other verses by the same author, some of which are hardly possible to print.

In 1682 she gave birth to a boy, who was christened Charles at Windsor Castle on 3 June, the king being sponsor for him; but this child did not live to grow up, dying when he was only a year and a half old, and another son, christened Henry, also died an infant. Ten years after her marriage her last child was born on 17 August, 1684, and was christened Anne. I am unable to give the exact date of Lady Sussex's final separation from her husband, but it was an accomplished fact by 1680 when she went to France, accompanied by her

¹ Daughter of Richard Barrett the elder.



LADY ANNE LENNARD BARONESS DACRE, D. 1755.

two daughters, and attaching herself to the Court of the exiled King James, was made a Lady of the Bedchamber to his queen, Mary of Modena.

While at St. Germans an attachment sprang up between her eldest daughter Barbara and General Skelton, Comptroller of the Household to James II., and they were ultimately married, though her father showed considerable reluctance in giving his consent as the General was a Roman Catholic, and by his adherence to James had rendered himself an alien to England.

Lord Sussex appears to have been much interested in racing, as he gave a challenge whip to be run for at Newmarket, which is still possessed by the Jockey Club, although it has not been challenged for often of late years; and from his extravagant way of living, and reckless gambling, he was forced to part with most of his estates. In May 1703, his mother-in-law, the duchess, wrote to Sir Thomas Dyke, avowing her concern 'for the position of her daughter Sussex and her childerne,' whom she says the extravagances of Lord Sussex threaten with ruin; and she urges him as a trustee of her daughter's marriage settlement to exercise his powers for her protection, and for that of her children. I am not able to show whether this letter had any effect, or what were the terms of the marriage settlement, but we know that in June 1708, the earl sold Hurstmonceaux to Mr. Naylor for £38,215, and as he had also sold his house in London, he retired to Chevening where he spent the remainder of his days; dying there in 1715. After his death his widow returned to England, and went to live at Chevening with her youngest daughter, Lady Anne.

As we have seen, Lady Anne married her cousin, Richard Barrett, but no settlements were made on the marriage, and soon after his premature death, she and Lady Barbara sold the Dacre estates in Cumberland to the Musgraves; and Chevening (the Kent estates which consisted of about 3,300 acres of land) to Lord Stanhope for £28,000. She married Lord Teynham as her second husband, and took her mother to live with her at his seat at Linstead, Kent, where the countess died in 1721, and is buried in Lord Teynham's vault there. By her second husband, who died in May 1723, she had two sons, from the elder of whom the present Henry Brand, Lord Dacre, and Viscount Hampden, is descended, and one

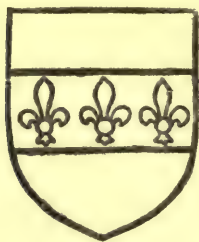
daughter. In October 1725, Lady Anne married the Hon. R. Moore, who died in 1728, and by whom she had one son.

We unfortunately know very little of Lady Anne's character, but in spite of the bad example given to her and to her sister by the conduct of their mother, I have never seen any reference to cause me to imagine that either of them conducted themselves otherwise than with the strictest propriety. Her education must have been very greatly neglected ; we have a scrap of a letter which she wrote to her eldest son, who had evidently been enquiring of her whether she had any old family letters, or papers, in her possession. Her reply which is written in a terrible scrawl, is as follows :—

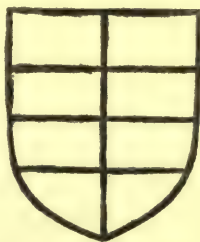
If there was any old letters of Samson Lennard or Henry Lord Dacres, yt was any way curious or other papers my father burnt um ; for there was trunks that no bod know what was in um nor had not been opened in any bodys memory so he brook um opened & burnt seuerall papaer wch he afterwards wanted & cost a great deall to secharch for um besidess ye trouble he had to find where to looke.

Lady Anne, although upon her sister's death in 1741 she became entitled to the title of Baroness Dacre in her own right, never assumed it, but continued to style herself Lady Teynham. She died in June 1755, and, as we have seen, the title of Baron Dacre then passed to Thomas Lennard Barrett, her son by her first husband.

THOMAS BARRETT LENNARD.



LENNARD



BARRETT

THE ORIGIN OF THE CAREWS

IT may have been observed by some that in the Fitzgerald pedigree which I gave at the close of my paper on the origin of that family,¹ I followed the example set by Mr. Dimock, when editing *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Rolls Series), in omitting William Fitzgerald's eldest son Odo, who is claimed as the Carews' ancestor. This I did for two reasons. In the first place Giraldus himself, though naming Odo 'de Kerreu' as his cousin (*consobrinus*)², nowhere states distinctly who his father was, while he somewhat pointedly ignores him in the *Expugnatio Hiberniæ*; in the second the charter of 1212, restoring Moulshford, Berks,³ on which the origin of the family has long rested in pedigrees, proves that Odo was a grandson of Gerald Fitz Walter (de Windsor), but does not tell us which of Gerald's sons was his father, or indeed prove that he was not merely a maternal grandson. It was safer, therefore, to leave the descent open until it could be absolutely proved.⁴

Fortunately I have, since then, noted the missing link needed to complete the proof. In the *Monasticon* (vi. 837), among the endowments of the Hospitallers' Commandery at 'Walinton,' we find this entry:—

Willelmus filius GERALDI et Odo filius ejus dederunt totam villam de Rubard cum omnibus pertinentiis.⁵

The place is Redbarth, a parish adjoining that of Carew, and the entry is proof positive that Odo was a son, and indeed the heir, of *William* son of Gerald Fitz Walter.⁶

¹ *The Ancestor*, ii. 98.

² Gerald, who prided himself on his Latinity, may have used the term in a strict sense.

³ See p. 24 below.

⁴ Sir Harris Nicolas, in his *Roll of Carlaverock*, speaks of the house of Carew as 'supposed to have sprung from Otho de Windsor, the common ancestor of the illustrious families of Windsor and Fitz-Gerald' (p. 154), and Mr. G. T. Clark similarly treats the connexion as open to question (*Medieval Military Architecture*, i. 116).

⁵ In the confirmation charter by Anselm, Bishop of St. David's (1230-1), the place is given as 'Redeborth.'

⁶ 'Walinton,' the site of the Commandery, was East Walton, Pembrokeshire, some twelve miles north of Carew Castle.

With the help of this evidence it will now at length be possible to prove and illustrate the pedigree throughout the twelfth century, the darkest and most difficult period in genealogical research. The pivot on which the story turns is that singular district around Pembroke, that 'little England beyond Wales,' which was destined to form the stepping-stone between England and Ireland. Of this district, with its strange place-names still preserving the memory of Norman or Flemish knights, Pembroke was of course the head; and of Pembroke the constable was Gerald, the patriarch of a spreading race. The neck of the Pembroke peninsula was guarded by Carew on its northern coast and by Manorbier on its southern, and these castles came to be held by grandsons of the lord Gerald.¹

A puzzling passage in the work of Giraldus, *De rebus a se gestis*, relates that, while he was at school (i.e. attending the university) at Paris as a young man,

consanguinei ipsius, sc. Willelmus filius Hay,² Odo de Kerreu,³ et Philippus de Barri,⁴ frater ejusdem decimas suas . . . longe ante contulerant (i. 28).

This would at first sight suggest that Odo 'de Kerreu' was a brother of Philip de Barri; but the important genealogical passage two pages earlier clears up the matter. After mentioning that 'Ricardus filius Tancardi' was a great man in Pembrokeshire, and that he hated Gerald himself and all his folk, Gerald continues:—

Odo de Kerreu consobrinus Giraldis et Philippus de Barri frater ejusdem Giraldis,⁵ qui viri probi et magni fuerunt in finibus illis, licet generi prædicti Ricardi, sc. filias suas habentes uxores, tamen acerbè dixerunt illi quod taceret et a stultiloquio temperaret; quia non tanta vindicta sumpta fuit de alio Giraldo, fratre sc. Odonis primævo, pro quo dudum a Rosensibus interempto ducenti viri et plures de eisdem uno die corruerunt (i. 26-7).

In another of his works, the *Itinerary of Wales*, Gerald recurs to this tragedy on the occasion of his visiting Camrose.⁶

Kamros, ubi, pro juvenis egregii, Giraldis scilicet filii Guillelmi, nece, multorum cædibus cruentam nimis et gravem, tempore Stephani regis, propinqui

¹ The Barrys of Manorbier, descended from Gerald through his daughter, recur in connexion with their neighbours the Carews, both in Pembrokeshire and in Ireland, generations later.

² Of Hay's Castle (?)

³ Of Carew.

⁴ Of Manorbier.

⁵ This supplies the missing word in the previous quotation.

⁶ To the north-west of Haverfordwest.

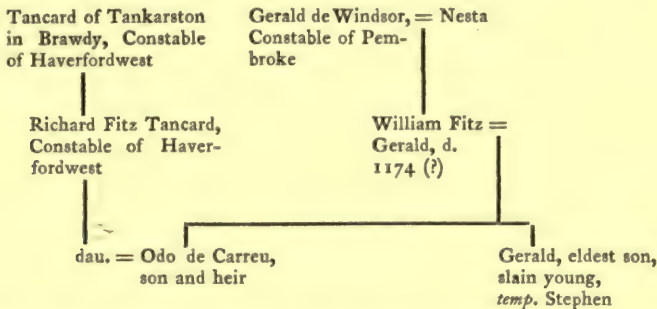
THE ORIGIN OF THE CAREWS 21

et necessarii sui, quanquam minus in hoc necessarii, vindictam in Rosenses exercuerant.¹

The death of William Fitz Gerald is placed by his nephew the historian in or about 1174 in a passage which, explaining that it recalled his son Reimund to Wales, would rather suggest, as I hinted at the outset, that Reimund was his heir.²

We now know, however, that this was not the case.

Putting together the above evidence, it proves this pedigree :—



Here I may explain that, having thus satisfied myself of the pedigree, I received from Dr. Owen a copy of his *Old Pembrokeshire Families*, which he was good enough to send me. This work, which is described on the title-page as ‘compiled in part from the Floyd MSS.,’ is a valuable contribution to early genealogy. I glanced at Mr. Floyd’s piles of notebooks when they were deposited at the London Library, and saw that they seemed to ‘contain,’ as Dr. Owen observes, ‘a wealth of information as to the families of other counties.’ That ‘careful and laborious antiquary’ adopted the excellent method of arranging his notes under the names of the families to which they referred. Whether Mr. Floyd was as critical as he was certainly industrious it would not be possible to say without study of his notes; but his collections, now deposited—unfortunately for London genealogists—in the College Library at Aberystwyth, deserve to be widely known.

With regard to Odo de Carreu there are two points, I fear, on which I must differ from Dr. Owen. In the first place he gives as Odo’s mother, ‘Katherine, a daughter of Sir

¹ *Itinerarium Cambriæ* (Rolls ed.), vi. 99.

² ‘Reimundus, ob patris quem audierat obitum, nobilis videlicet viri Guillelmi Giraldidæ, remenso pelago in Kambriam recessisset’ (v. 310).

Adam de Kingsley, in Cheshire.' This match, I venture to say, is obviously hall-marked as one of those I spoke of in my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, where I observed that a Lane, 'under William Rufus, married into one of those "leading families" whose daughters have always been kept in stock at Her Majesty's College of Arms' (p. xv.). In other words, the marriage must be taken from an old herald's pedigree. The good 'Sir Adam' would have lived about the year 1100, and may be fitly compared with that Sir Richard Stackpole of whom Dr. Owen writes :—

There is in the writer's possession a print of one 'Sir Richard Stackpole of Pembrokeshire,' stated (although his looks belie it) to have been 'highly respected in the year 1091.' There is beneath the print a long and entirely inaccurate account of Sir Richard and of his descendants. Sir Richard had no existence.

The second point on which I must differ is that Odo de Carreu is always styled 'Odo' (or 'Oddo'), and not as Dr. Owen makes it, 'Other,' which was the wholly distinct name of his first known ancestor. A good instance in point is afforded by a charter with which Dr. Owen seems to be unacquainted. This is the confirmation by Peter, Bishop of St. Davids, soon, I think, after 1176, of the *dapiferatus* of that see to William son of Maurice Fitz Gerald.¹ Among the witnesses are :—

Ricardo de Haerford; Tanchard filio ejus; Oddone de Karreu . . . Philippo de Barry.

This is a specially interesting combination, for we here see the three men mentioned together by Giraldus in a passage quoted above, namely Richard (Fitz Tancard, constable) of Ha(v)erford—as I should extend the name—and his two sons-in-law Odo de Carreu (of Carew) and Philip de Barri (of Manorbier), together with his son 'Tanchard.' As Richard was a military tenant of the see he appears very fittingly among the witnesses to the charter.

The above charter may be fittingly followed by that of Robert son of Elidir (of Stackpole) granting Trefduant (St. Edrin's) to St. Davids, for the lay witnesses to that charter are 'Odone de Carren (i.e. Carreu), Philippo de Barry, Adam de Rupe.'² According to Dr. Owen's book 'Other (*sic*), soon

¹ *Fourth Report Historical MSS.* App. p. 583.

² Late transcript in Harl. MS. 1249, fo. 28 (pencil). I am indebted to Dr. Owen's book for this reference. Adam 'de Rupe' was then of Roch Castle.

after his father's death ['1173'], got into trouble with the Welsh, who took from him his castle of Emlyn (*sic*), but he obtained from Henry II. the manor of Bampton, co. Oxon, so long as the Welsh held Emlyn' (p. 13). The reference given for this statement is 'Pipe Rolls, 2 Henry II. [1156],' but there is not, and could not be, any such entry on the roll of that year. The entry required is on the Pipe Roll of 20 Henry II. (1174) and refers, not to 'Bampton, co. Oxon,' but to Braunton, co. Devon, under which county it is found. It runs thus:—

Et Odoni filio Willelmi filii Geroldi (*sic*) c solidos in Branton' cum pertinentiis de quarta parte anni et amodo xx libras numero per annum in eadem villa in escambio castelli et terra de Emelin quamdiu Resus¹ filius Griffin ea habuerit (p. 89).

Apart from its genealogical value this entry proves that Odo was granted £20 a year from the royal manor of Braunton at Midsummer, 1174, while it implies that he had lost possession of Emlyn. The cantred of Emlyn was a district lying along the left (the south) bank of the Teify above Cardigan. It must have been held by Odo's father, for we find him confirming the gift of a church within it.² This leads me to suggest a bold emendation of the printed text of Giraldus, who is made to assert that of the seven cantreds obtained by the children of Nesta, William received Pembroke and 'Ginelin.'³ As there is no cantred of 'Ginelin,' I think we should read 'Emelin.'⁴ As for 'castellum de Emelin,' it must mean the castle of the district (? Kilgerran).

Odo was still drawing from Braunton his £20 a year in 1189,⁵ but a curious entry on a plea roll of uncertain though later date reads as follows:—

Willelmus Peche positus loco Odonis de Karliun (*sic*) venit in curiam et concessit Sibille de Sumeri c solidatas terre in Chause et faciet ei escambium de feodo i militis in Bramton pro feodo i militis in Emelin unde ipse Odo cepit escambium pro iiij marcis quas ipsa dedit ei.⁶

¹ This was the celebrated Rhys, prince of south Wales, who was at this time on the side of Henry II.

² 'In Emlyn ex dono Jordani de Cantitona et confirmatione Willelmi filii Geraldii ecclesiam de Castellon' (Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 64).

³ Ed. Rolls Series, i. 59.

⁴ 'in' was easily misread for 'm' so that only the initial letter requires alteration.

⁵ Pipe Roll, 1 Ric. I.

⁶ *Rot. Cur. Reg.* i. 374.

We hear again of his land at Braunton in 1201, where he still appears on the Pipe Roll as holding it.¹ In this year on 5 January, John had granted to Robert de Secqueville all his rights in Braunton save the 'outhundred' and the land which 'Odo de Karun' was holding.² Robert is found, the following Michaelmas, accounting for 100 marcs due for the king's grant.³ Three years later (1204) the sheriff of Devon is ordered to give Robert, further, seisin of that portion of Braunton which Odo had held,⁴ a concession for which he is subsequently found paying the king 50 marcs and a palfrey.⁵

Odo was succeeded by his son William, who first appears in conjunction with his father in 1194.⁶ When we meet him again in 1207 he has succeeded his father.⁷ He paid in that year a large sum of money that he might not be impleaded for his land of 'Muleford' (i.e. Moulsoford, Berks), which his predecessors, he said, had held since the days of Henry I. The curtain rises again in 1212, when we find William restored to his 'house' and lands at Carew and to his manor of Moulsoford by two documents which have not, I think, been brought together before. They were issued within four days of each

¹ *Rot. Canc.* 3 John, p. 15. It is interesting to observe that on this page he appears, as before, as 'Odo filius Willelmi filius Geroldi,' though on p. 24 he is 'Odo de Carrio.'
² *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, p. 83b.

³ 'Robertus de Secchevilla reddit compotum de c marcis, pro habendo quicquid Rex habet in manerio de Branton' hereditarie excepto uthundredo et excepta terra quam Odo de Carrio tenet in eadem villa q[ue] potest devenire in man[um] Regis' (*Rot. Canc.* 3 John, p. 24).

⁴ 'Rex . . . vicecomiti Devon' etc. Mandamus tibi quod facias habere Roberto de Sechevilla terram quam Odo de Carro tenuit de nobis in Branton' tenendam quamdiu nobis placuerit reddendo inde nobis annuatim xx libras . . . xix die Jan' (*Rot. Lib.* p. 77).

⁵ 'Robertus de Sechevilla dat L marcas et 1 palefridum pro habenda terra que fuit Odonis de Carriu in Branton' reddendo domino Regi per annum xxx (sic) libras sterlingorum' (*Fine Roll* [1206], p. 349).

⁶ 'Odo de Karrio ponit Willelmum filium suum loco suo versus Gaufridum de Chausi de placito terre de Molesford' (Berks, Mich. 6 Ric. I.; *Plac. Abbrev.* p. 1. Compare *Rot. Cur. Reg.* i. 20). The Chausi family gave name to Mapledurham 'Chausey' some seven miles lower down the Thames on the opposite bank. Emma (de) Chausi had given tithes at Moulsoford to Wallingford Priory (*Mon. Ang.* iii. 280).

⁷ 'Willelmus de Carrou dat quadraginta uncias auri quod non implacitetur de terra sua de Muleford quam Gillebertus de Cause clamat versus eum per breve de recto, et quia antecessores ipsius Willelmi in pace tenuerunt a tempore Regis Henrici avi patris domini Regis et ipse usque modo, ut dicit' (*Fine Roll* [1207], p. 414).

other, and are of great importance, for the first proves that William had been in possession of Carew in 1210, and the second establishes his pedigree from the days of Henry I., needing only the slight link which the grant of Redbarth supplies.¹

(1)

Rex dilecto et fideli suo Falkesio ballivo de Glanmorgan' etc. Sciatis quod reddidimus Willelmo de Carrio domum suum de Carrio cum terris quas habuit die quo venimus ultimo usque Penbroc' ad transfretandum in Hyberniam anno r. n. xij^{mo} . . . xxj die Maii anno xiiij^{mo} ² [21 May, 1212].

(2)

Sciatis quod reddidimus et hac carta nostra confirmavimus manerium de Muleford' cum pertinentiis suis quod Henricus Rex avus Regis Henrici patris nostri dedit Geroldo filio Walteri avo Odonis patris predicti Willelmi de Carrio tenendum eidem Willelmo et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris per servicium 1 militis . . . xxv die Maii anno r. n. quarto decimo ³ [25 May, 1212].

It would seem that William de Carew obtained this reinstatement by paying a fine to the king, for although the record of it is now lost, it is referred to in that of the heavy fine by which a Somerset baron, William Fitz John de Harptree, seems to have obtained both these estates in the year following (17 Sept. 1213).⁴ The same baron is found ten or eleven years later (7 March, 1224) compounding with the king for the fine he had made with King John 'for having the wardship of the land and heir of William de Carew.'⁵ Here then at least

¹ See p. 19 above.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, i. (1) 92.

³ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, i. (1) 186.

⁴ 'Willelmus filius Johannis de Harpetre finem fecit eum domino Rege per quadraginta (*sic*) marcas et iiij palefridos pro habendis terris Willelmi de Karrio quas h[abe]t citra mare Hiberniæ et pro jure quod predictus Willelmus de Karrio clamat de aliis terris citra mare Hiberniæ pro quibus idem Willelmus de Karrio finem fecerat cum domino Rege per xl marcas reddendas domino Regi simul cum predictis iiij palefridis infra duos annos . . . et quod scire faciat per literas suas Vicecomiti Bercscir et Falkesio baillivo de Glamorgan in quorum baillis predictus Willelmus terras suas h[abe]t etc.' (Fine Roll, 15 John, p. i, m. 3). The details of the fine prove the amount to have been not 40, but 400 marks (£266 13s. 4d.). In the first volume of the *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland*, the reference is wrongly given as 'm. 6,' and 'citra' has been clearly misread as 'ultra,' the whole entry being thus made to relate to lands in Ireland!

⁵ 'Willelmus filius Johannis de Harpetre finem fecit cum domino Rege de cc et xx marcis quas domino Regi debet de fine quam fecit cum domino Johanne Rege pro habenda custodia terre et heredis Willelmi de Carrio' (Fine Roll, 8 Hen. III. p. 2, m. 8).

we have definite proof that William de Carew was dead before the close of John's reign.

Having brought the pedigree clearly down to this point I might claim to have traced as far as needful 'the origin of the Carews,' for at this period the genealogist finds himself in smooth water with rolls of many kinds, fines and deeds yearly increasing in bulk. Oddly enough however it is here that difficulty begins, not indeed as to the descent, for of that there can be no question, but as to the details of the pedigree. It has been alleged that William de Carew was succeeded by his son Nicholas, then under age, in 15 Henry III. (1230-1),¹ but William we have seen was dead before Henry's reign, and as early as 1228 (11 July) we read on the Close Rolls :—

Dominus rex commisit Bertramo de Cryoil manerium de Molesford quod Nicholaus de Carrio de rege tenuit in capite ad se sustendandum in servicio domini regis quamdiu ei placuerit.²

This proves that Nicholas de Carew had before that date succeeded to Moulsoford, and subsequent records make it certain that, as indeed the entry suggests, he was actually dead at its date. For the recently published *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (p. 203) contains the entry (20 Sept. 1228) :—

Dominus rex concessit Bertram de Crioil manerium de Molesford cum pertinenciis quod Nicholaus de Karrio de rege tenuit in capite habendum sibi vel cui assignare voluerit *usque ad etatem heredum ipsius Nicholai*.

And in 1230 (27 December) we read on the Fine Rolls :—

Johannes Marescallus finem fecit cum Rege per ducentas marcas pro habenda custodia terrarum et heredum (*sic*) Nicholai de Careho usque ad etatem eorundem heredum (*sic*) cum maritagio ipsorum heredum (*sic*). Et Mandatum est Vicecomiti Berk' quod, accepta ab eodem Johanne securitate de predictis cc marcis, de omnibus terris que fuerunt predicti Nicholai in ballia sua, etc.³

Four years later (21 Nov. 1234), John Marshal is excused the balance due from him for the wardship—

quam quidem custodiam postea reddi fecimus dilecto et fideli nostro Bertrano de Cryoil cui eam prius concesseramus per finem quam inde fecit nobiscum.⁴

Thus the wardship was restored to Bertram, who had secured Moulsoford in right of it, we saw, in 1228. There

¹ The Herald's' College Pedigree (C. 1, 26), according to Maclean's *Sir Peter Carew*, App. 1.

² *Calendar of Close Rolls*, i. 61.

³ *Excerpta e rot. fin.* i. 208.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 296.

was clearly a long minority, for a return in the *Testa de Nevill*, which must be later by several years, contains the entry :—

Bertram' de Crioill tenet Mallesford ut wardam de ballio regis de hereditate fil' Eudon' (*sic*) de Karre nec facit scutagium (p. 125).

It is clear therefore that Nicholas de Carew, so far from succeeding his father in 1230-1, being under age at the time, was himself already dead in 1228, leaving, as the records put it, 'heirs,' a word which raises further doubts as to the correctness of the pedigree.¹ Indeed, I am bound to point out that it is at present a blank until, some half a century later, we meet with Nicholas de Carew.

So far as the Welsh inheritance is concerned, we certainly seem to be on sure ground with the mention of William de Carew's tenure of five fees in the division of the Marshal inheritance (1247),² but unluckily, on verifying Dr. Owen's reference for the fact—'Clark, *Earls of Pembroke*, p. 69'—I can find nothing there about William or his five fees. Mr. Floyd however may have seen record evidence for the fact. And such evidence for a later date is duly found on the Close Roll of 1325, where we read that the purparty of Laurence de Hastings of Pembroke included—

'five knights' fees in Carru, co. Pembroke, which John de Carru holds, of the yearly value of 100 marcs; five in Maynerbier, in the same county, which John de Barry holds,' etc., etc.³

With Nicholas de Carew living at the close of the thirteenth century we are, in any case, on sure ground for both the English and the Welsh inheritance. This Nicholas, who is found as a witness in 1299 to a Pembrokeshire charter,⁴ was one of those who, in the parliament of Lincoln, affixed their seal to the letter to the pope, his style being given as 'Nicholas de Carru dominus de Muleford.' Moreover there is plenty of record evidence for his journeys to and from Ireland, where he held the barony of Idrone in the palatinate of Car-

¹ Dr. Owen, I observe, here gives a different pedigree from that which is accepted, and makes William (1212) father of Richard, who 'had an elder son, William Lord of Carew,' in 1247. But he then proceeds to trace the descent through 'Richard's son, Sir Nicholas de Carew,' who 'died in 1311' (p. 14).

² See *The Ancestor*, i. 247-9, for the value of such evidence.

³ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1323-7. The same record proves that the Stackpole holding was one of five fees.

⁴ Sloane Charter, xxxii. 14.

low (to give it its modern name),¹ as '5 knights' fees, with the appurtenances in Odrone.'² Here we have further illustration of that system of the five-knight unit on which, as I have shown, in Ireland as in England, our knight service was based.³ From the kingdom of Jerusalem, indeed, in the east to the lordship of Ireland in the west—the two realms which illustrate alike the flow and the ebb of conquest—we trace the persistent presence of the five-knight unit. Pembroke and Carlow were both palatinates—or at least quasi-palatinates—and had both originally formed part of that vast inheritance of the Marshals of which Strongbow had laid the foundations. The Carews held in each of them a 'barony' of five fees, and, in my opinion, 'Baron of Carew,' a style they sometimes bore, was one of those interesting feudal titles which are found in such palatinates as those of Chester and Durham, though it seems to have been held that they were 'barons' also in virtue of their tenure of Idrone.⁴

At the famous siege of Carlaverock (July, 1300) Nicholas de Carew was present.

Un vaillant home et de grant los
O lui Nichole de Karru
Dont meintz foiz orent paru
Li fait en couvert et en lande
Sur la felloune gent dirlande
Baniere ot jaune bien passable
O trois passans lyons de sable.

¹ The Heralds' pedigree makes him acquire it by marrying the heiress of a mysterious 'Digon, Baron of Odrone,' whom I cannot identify.

² Inquest of 11 Dec. 1306, in *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, 1302-7, p. 179. Compare p. 173 for inquest of 8 April, 1307, in which he is said to hold 'one barony in Odrone.' After his death it was certified to the king by the escheator of Ireland, 20 May, 1317, that he had, by the king's licence, enfeoffed his son and heir John, in his life, of his lands in co. Carlow, with certain reservations to himself (Irish Close Roll, 10 Edw. II.).

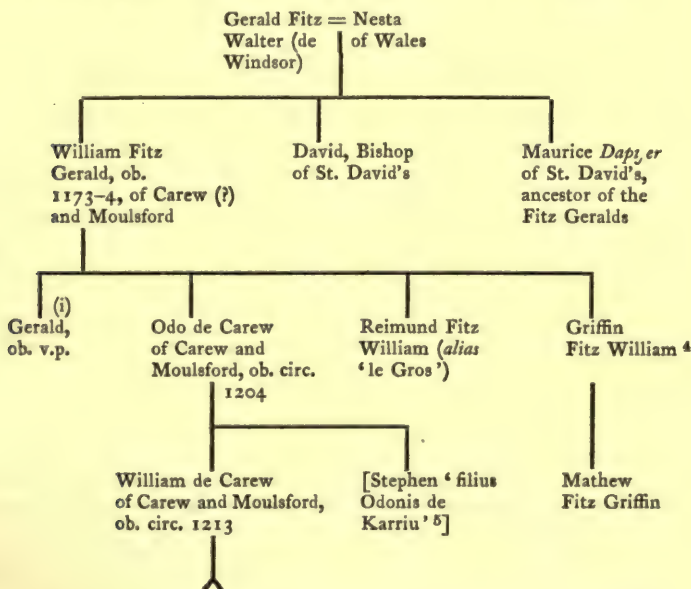
³ *Feudal England*, p. 259-60.

⁴ 'The country of Odrone, which was a barony, and parcel of the inheritance of the said Sir Peter, and sundry of whose ancestors had been barons of the same . . . he was persuaded to have begun his suit against the Kavanaghs for the barony of Odrone, because the same was of his ancient inheritance, a great territory or country, and which carried the title of honour' (Hooker's *Life of Sir Peter Carew* [Ed. Maclean], pp. 73, 79). In Sir John Maclean's note (p. 2) Idrone itself is described wrongly as 'a sort of palatinate formerly belonging to Margaret, Countess of Norfolk.' It was only a barony held of her palatinate or liberty, which was itself Catherlough (Carlow). Forth and St. Mullins were also baronies therein (see p. 48 below).

And half a century later his descendant Sir John de Carew was among the knights who fought in the king's division at Crecy.¹ Against Irish 'felons,' against Scottish rebels, against the foemen of France, the black lions of Carew had gone forth in turn to war.

II

Difficult as it is to trace, in the thirteenth century, the pedigree of Carew in England and Wales, the difficulty is even greater when we turn to Ireland. We have seen by a record of the year 1213 that William de Carew of Carew and Mouldsford was holding at that date lands in Ireland, for these, it implies, were not included in the grant which formed its subject.² With this clue we search the *Cartulary of St. Mary's, Dublin*, and there we find William 'de Karru' making a grant *inter alia* 'pro anima Domini Reimundi patrui mei.'³ The date of the charter would seem to be about 1210-12. We are thus taken back to the early pedigree of the house.



¹ Wrottesley's *Crecy and Calais*.

² See p. 25, note 4 above.

³ Ed. Rolls Series, i. 110.

⁴ *Cartulary of St. Thomas, Dublin*, 112-4.

⁵ Ibid. p. 205. He can only be affiliated thus, but he occurs at an early date (before 1189?).

This pedigree shows at once how Reimund was father's brother (*patruus*) to William de Carew. The latter's charters are entered in the *Cartulary of St. Mary's* (i. 106, 110, 112, 113, 410, 411), and it is remarkable that one of these¹ (1201-12) grants the vill of 'Balisclothe' in 'Odrone,' and alludes to his own demesne in 'Odrone' as well, as if he were already in possession of that barony. The same charter grants a burgage in Tech Moling (or St. Mullins), Carlow, and it is interesting to note that the same cartulary assigns to the gift of his father Odo a messuage in the same place.² From this last piece of evidence, slender though it is, we may infer that Odo himself received an enfeoffment in Irish lands through the influence of his mighty brother 'the lord Reimund.'

Reimund had another brother whom he certainly so enfeoffed. This was 'Griffin,' whose name recalls the Welsh ancestry of the house. Giraldus speaks of him as Reimund's brother,³ and as nephew to Maurice Fitz Gerald,⁴ and tells us that his dream of a herd of swine attacking his uncle Maurice and Hugh de Laci proved a warning which saved them from a fierce attack by the Irish.⁵ He appears twice as Griffin 'filius Willelmi,'⁶ and although it has been alleged that he died without issue,⁷ we have two charters of his son Mathew Fitz Griffin, to which his cousin William de Carew was a witness.⁸ That his heirs were legitimate is proved by a document of later date, which is the return of an inquest (6 May, 1290) to the effect that Reimund le Gros had enfeoffed 'Griffin Fitz William, his brother, of Fynnore and Kells in Fothered for the service of 2 knights and suit of his court at the castle of Fothered'⁹ (within the liberty of Carlow),¹⁰ and that these

¹ Vol. i. 113. Compare i. 112.

² Vol. ii. 98.

³ 'Erectum est igitur apud Fotheret Onolan primo castrum Reimundo, aliud fratri ejusdem Griffino' (v. 355). For this barony of Forth (in Carlow) compare the inquest in the text.

⁴ See pedigree.

⁵ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, v. 292.

⁶ *Cartulary of St. Thomas, Dublin*, 113, 114.

⁷ See the pedigree attributed to Garter Anstis in Maclean's *Life of Sir Peter Carew*, p. 299. I was myself misled on this point by the pedigree in Mr. Dimock's edition of the *Expugnatio*, combined with the Harl. Roll, P. 8, which latter is here clearly wrong.

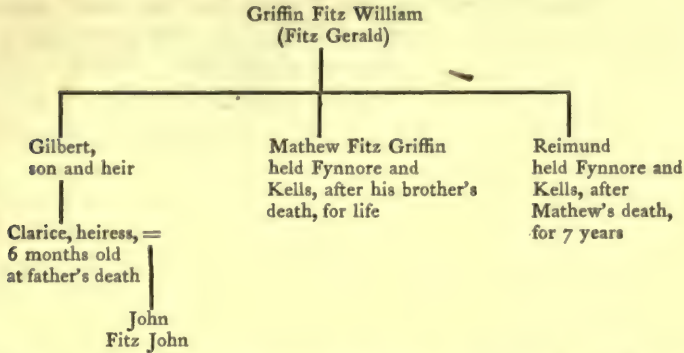
⁸ *Cartulary of St. Mary's*, i. 107, 108.

⁹ *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, 1285-93, p. 294.

¹⁰ See note 3 above and p. 28, note 4.

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lands had descended as in the pedigree below. Here then we have yet another branch of the spreading house of Fitz Gerald, of which the pedigree is this :—



The Irish Carews kept alive the name of 'the lord Reimund, as is seen by the occurrence of Reimund de Carreu and Reimund de Carreu, junior,'¹ while a 'Tancard de Carreu' owed his name to his descent from the Pembroke-shire Tancards.² But these early Irish Carews are difficult to place in the pedigree. A Richard for instance had clearly a fief somewhere in Leinster³ and a Robert de Carreu appears among its magnates in 1221 and 1235 in close conjunction with Patrick de Courcy.⁴ This Robert may have possessed a moiety of the great lordship of Cork, but I cannot assign him a place in the pedigree of the Carews of Carew and Moulsoford.⁵

III

From these early Irish Carews we must now pass at a bound to that gallant and adventurous Elizabethan worthy, Sir Peter Carew. This is not the place in which to tell the story of his earlier life ; we are not here concerned with him before the year 1568, when, at the age of fifty-four, he suddenly resolved to claim the inheritance of his ancestors—or rather their inheritances—in Ireland. The story of this singular enterprise has been told for us by one who had a chief hand in it, John Hooker of Exeter, antiquary and writer

¹ The latter is found in the *Crede mihi* in 1243.

² See p. 21 above.

³ *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, 1171–1251, p. 281.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 154, 337, 340.

⁵ See p. 40 below.

on history. Sir Peter, Hooker tells us, had employed a period of rare leisure in looking through his family muniments, being 'persuaded he should have by inheritance' certain lands in Ireland.¹ 'Bemoaning' to his friends that he could not read them, he was advised to apply to Hooker, who was (*teste seipso*) 'a man greatly given to seek and search old records and antient writings and was very skilful in reading of them.' He had also what was doubtless the supreme merit of being a fellow-Devonian.

The ingenious Hooker appears to have astounded Sir Peter by his ability to read these documents 'and declare the effect of them unto him,' and promptly obtained the management of the business. He drew up for Sir Peter a full statement of his claims, of which one need only say that the Devonshire knight went back eleven generations for a marriage in right of which he claimed the barony of Odrone, twelve for one with the heiress of Maston, and, to crown all, no less than fourteen generations for a marriage with a daughter of Robert Fitz Stephen, in right of which he claimed, under a grant of Henry II., half of the ancient 'Kingdom of Cork'!²

Hooker, who pointed out that there was no 'prescription' in Ireland, went over there, entreated, he assures us, by Sir Peter, as a kind of agent in advance, to prepare the way for his principal. One is reminded of the Colchester scrivener, who, in the true spirit of Tudor litigation, stirred up 'very many old and blynd titles and suytes,' and set the whole town by the ears.³ But Ireland, one need scarcely say, was about the most dangerous place in which to advance such claims as those of Sir Peter Carew.⁴

It is the pedigree, however, produced for Sir Peter that is of most interest for the readers of *The Ancestor*. Its story is told in a letter written by Thomas Wadding to the newly-created Lord Carew five and thirty years later :—

Your Lordship's uncle Sir Peter Carew, Knight, did show unto me a grant under the broad seal of England from King Henry the 2nd to Robert Fitz

¹ Similar beliefs as to English estates are not unknown to-day in the United States of America.

² See the tabular pedigree in Appendix to Sir John Maclean's book.

³ *The Ancestor*, iv. 150.

⁴ Mr. Bagwell speaks of these claims as 'an enterprise, the success of which was enough to make the great mass of Irish and Anglo-Irish landlords shake in their shoes' (*Ireland under the Tudors*, ii. 139).

Stevens and Miles de Cogan of all the kingdom of Corck, which was the kingdom of McCarthy More. . . .

But I did tell Sir Peter that if I would begin the suit then, I might be said to want discretion and a law-like consideration of the matter, because it did not appear to me that he was heir to the first Caru that married Fitz Stephen's daughter; whereupon he did send John Hooker into England, that *from the Heralds did bring the pedigree from the first Caru, in colours, very orderly,*¹ and, under the king's seal, livery of their lands from man to man to his own time.²

I claim to have identified the actual 'pedigree from the first Caru, in colours,' drawn up for the purpose of supporting Sir Peter's claim in 1568. It is now 'Harl. Roll, P. 9' in the British Museum, and although assigned, for a reason that we shall see, to 1573, it must have been drawn up five years earlier, for it speaks of the Earl of Oxford and others as 'now living in A.D. 1568.' Moreover it is brought down to Sir Peter Carew himself and shows him as heir of Robert Fitz Stephen. I invite attention to the description given by this document of itself:—

The trewe and perfecte descente Genealogie and pedegree of the honorable house and famlye by auncient name called montgomerye but sythens by increase of honor Carewe. Collected and gathered out of sundrye evidences offices recordes and other munymentes; and by the Haroldes of this realme yn their office registred and allowed 1573.

'Registered'! Oh, blessed word for those by whom arms and pedigree are placed on the level of a trade mark!

A fresh edition of this pedigree was prepared for Sir Peter's successor and the other Devonshire Carews in 1589, but it merely repeats the descent and arms given in the other.³ This also is now in the British Museum, being known as Add. MS. 30,988. Here again its description of itself deserves quotation in full:—

The Degrees of the Kynred and manner of y^e encreasinge of the auncient familie of the Carewes Barons of Hydron or Odron in Ireland from whom y^e Carewes of Devon and others beinge of the same kynred by the father's side are here described to have issued. Whereunto are added the progeney and race of other families whose proper Stockes and matches by maryage are

¹ The italics are mine.

² *Carew Papers*, iv. 438, 441.

³ Except that William's son, who is made to marry a Courcy, is 'David' in Brooke's pedigree and 'Nicholas' in the other. Both pedigrees omit at least one generation at this point.

playnlye set downe and are knowne to have combyned them selves in this Descent and Famylye. Collected and made by R. Brooke alias Rougecroix one of her Ma^{ties} Officers at Armes in the yeare of our Salvation by Christe 1589.

It is of this descent, which is also found in Sir George Carew's handwriting among his MSS. at Lambeth (611, f. 42), that Dr. Owen scathingly observes that it 'is recorded in the Heralds' College, but the charter of King John . . . shows that it is as fictitious as those of the bards, or of the late Sir Bernard Burke.'¹

Luckily for us Sir John Maclean, who had accepted, in the first instance, this spurious pedigree of the family as 'the most clear and satisfactory we have seen, as regards the earlier period of its history,'² ascertained that 'it agrees exactly with that recorded in the Heralds' College (C 1, 26),'³ and had to confess on 'further investigation,' that 'the first four generations, as recorded, cannot be sustained.'³ But this is only one of the points on which this great Heralds' pedigree stands condemned; it merely affects the origin of the Carews, on which its statements are wildly false. The serious points are the two others, namely the alleged descent from Robert Fitz Stephen's daughter, and the 'faking' of the pedigree at a later stage, both steps being necessary to prove Sir Peter's right to a half of the 'Kingdom of Cork.'

It must be remembered that heralds' pedigrees were accepted as virtual proof of descent down to a much later time, and that the rejection of such evidence, in cases at least of peerage dignities, is comparatively recent.⁴ The construction therefore of this pedigree to support Sir Peter Carew's claim cannot be excused even on the ground that it was merely intended to minister to harmless vanity.

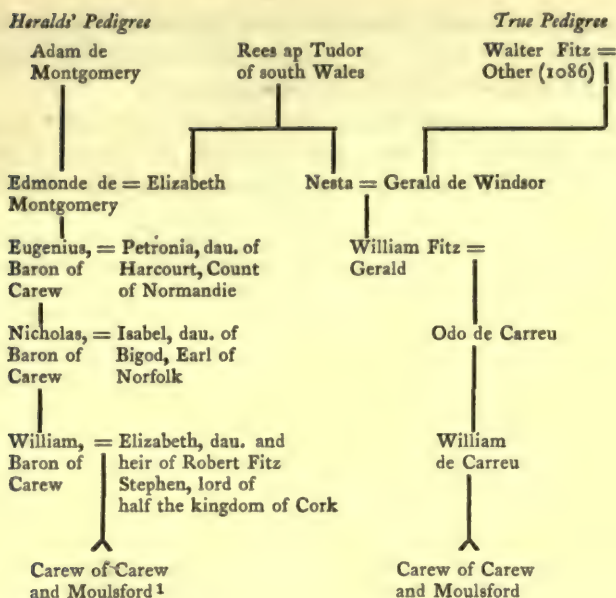
As to the first of the three points, the true and the false origins of the family are here given side by side.

¹ *Old Pembrokeshire Families*, p. 11.

² *Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew*, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.* App. i. It is on this Appendix that Dr. Owen's above criticism is based.

⁴ In the late contest for the office of Lord Great Chamberlain it was rightly urged in Lord Ancaster's 'case' that of the evidence produced in the previous contest, under George III., 'very little that was undoubtedly admissible is noted in the printed cases'; for in these the marginal references were largely to MSS. in the Heralds' College.



How so baseless a concoction can have been tattered even by a herald really passes comprehension.² It was however blindly accepted by Sir Peter Carew's biographer, who began his life by asserting that—

his first proper and ancient name is Montgomeroye. But by reason that one Eugenius his ancestor did marry one Engharthe, the daughter to Rhesius, Prince of Wales, and thereby made Baron of the castle of Carew in the county of Pembroke, the name of honour, in course of time, became to be the name of the family, and so the natural and proper name of Montgomeroye grew into the name of Carew.³

One is tempted to suggest that, dazzled by the splendour

¹ I give this version from Sir John Maclean's book because he vouched for its exact correspondence with the Heralds' College pedigree. In Harl. Roll, P. 9, the pedigree is the same, but the details vary slightly, thus: (1) 'Adam Montgomery de Carew in Enghareth'; (2) 'Edmonde Carew of Enghareth als. Montgomery'; (3) 'Eugenius, Baron of Carew = Petronill d. of Here-courte of Normandy.'

² The arms of Carew appear to be attributed to an Adam de Montgomery on a Roll of Arms *temp.* Edw. I., but this Adam must have been the Shropshire knight of that name who died in 1290.

³ Hooker's *Life of Sir Peter Carew* (ed. Maclean), p. 1. Sir John Maclean, as I have explained, accepted this version in his footnote to this passage on the strength of Lambeth MS. 611, f. 42, as 'the most clear and satisfactory,' but subsequently recognized its falsehood.

of their royal mistress, the heralds of Elizabeth projected her name into a period when its anachronism would have been as great as the 'visits' of her modern namesake.

The second point on which the Heralds' pedigree is guilty of amazing error is its representation of Sir Peter Carew as heir of Robert Fitz Stephen. In the words of Mr. Bagwell—

The English heralds manufactured a pedigree for him 'in colours very orderly,' bringing down his title from Fitz Stephen's mythical daughter.¹

The writer added that the English Government would have actually supported his claim if it were not for the trouble already caused in Leinster, where his success had driven even the loyal house of Butler to revolt.² The hazy character of the marriage with Robert Fitz Stephen's daughter is shown by the fact that Sir Peter's own agent in the matter,³ Wadding, could subsequently write thus :—

Robert Fitz Stephens had no issue but one daughter which he married to (as I take it) Robert Caru or to Thomas Caru your ancestors.⁴

Not only had the claim to this heirship been rejected, as we shall see, in 1331, but Robert Fitz Stephen's own nephew, the historian Giraldus, expressly states twice over that he died without issue,⁵ and mentions further that his brother's son, Reimund Fitz William, succeeded him.⁶

Such evidence as this was so strong that Garter Anstis, of whose praiseworthy work I have already spoken,⁷ served up the pedigree 'another way' (in the language of books on cookery), which 'deduces the descent of the Munster lands from Raymund "de Carrio," uncle of William.'⁸ This pedi-

¹ *Ireland under the Tudors*, ii. 142-3.

² Compare *Carew Papers*, p. 206 ('Book of Howth').

³ 'Sir Peter . . . being desirous to attempt suit for his living in Mounster retained me and by the hands of John Hooker showed unto me all the evidences and writings' (Wadding's Letter to Sir George Carew, *Carew Papers*, 1601-3, p. 440).

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 439. As a matter of fact the pedigree set up for Sir Peter made her marry William Carew.

⁵ *Expugnatio Hiberniæ* (Rolls Series), pp. 345, 409.

⁶ 'Reimundus, in hereditatem patruo Stephanidæ succedens, urbis custodiam solus obtinuit' (*ibid.* p. 350).

⁷ *Ancestor*, iii. 33.

⁸ See p. 298 of Sir John Maclean's work, where we read that the family of Pole-Carew of Antony possesses this pedigree.

gree accepts the above statement by Giraldus, and then makes Odo 'de Carrio' 'brother and heir of Raymond' by making Griffin die s.p.¹ I have no doubt that Anstis acted honestly in this, but his correction does not mend matters ; for I shall now show that the Munster lands never belonged to Sir Peter's ancestors at all.

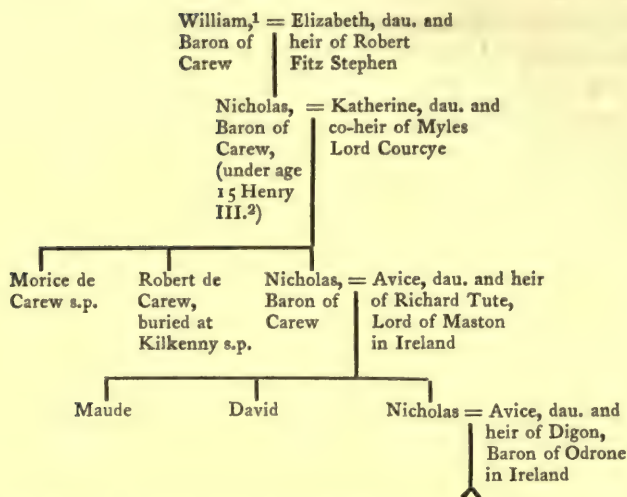
This, the third and essential flaw in the pedigree prepared by the Heralds, is the one which has cost me the most labour to expose. Neither Sir John Maclean, Mr. Bagwell nor Dr. Owen have cast doubt on the connexion of Sir Peter's line with Cork, and the first of these sturdily maintained that 'at all events it is clearly shown by *numerous* entries in the Record Rolls of Ireland that the Carews, during successive generations, were possessed of very extensive estates in the south of Ireland, which had formed part of the grant to Fitz Stephen, to the inheritance of which Sir Peter Carew would seem to have been entitled.'

As this is a matter affecting not merely the history of the Carew family, but that of a great district in Ireland, it is worth threshing out, the more so as Irish local history is in so backward a condition that such information is difficult to obtain. Careful examination of the 'proofs' collected by Sir Peter's agent, Wadding, for his Munster claim, compared with those appended to the Heralds' pedigree,² shows that the record evidence relied on centres on a certain Maurice de Carew, living for several years before and after 1300, who was undoubtedly a magnate in the present county of Cork. The actual pedigree of the Carews of Carew, Moulsoford, and county Carlow knows him not ; but the heralds first foisted him in to connect their client with Munster, and then conveniently extinguished him by killing him s.p. They thus produced the following descent :—

¹ Compare p. 30, note 7 above.

² As printed in Sir John Maclean's book (see next page).

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Here again I cite the pedigree from Sir John Maclean's book (p. 298) as that of the Heralds. To it there is appended this note :—

These two brethren, Morice and Robert, being both heirs successivelie unto the lands descended unto them in the Countie of Corke and elsewhere, being their father's and grandmother's inheritance, and being both out of the land of Irland at such time of service when the Kinges banner was there displaid, were charged for answeringe unto the Kinge the scutage or service dewe for the same ; that is to say, £60 for 30 knyghtes fees, dewe and excepted in the lettres patentees of King Henry II, and as appeareth in sondrye recordes in the Exchequer of Dublin. Also, this Morice, being endebted to King Edward I in £4000 (*sic*) for the said services, in consideration of his good service done in Scotland, the King released and acquitted him of that debt, as appeareth in the recordes of the Exchequer of the Castle of Dublin, entitled Rotulo Magno 32 Edward I. And further, whereas the services wardships and marriages of W de Burgo, Morrice Fitz Gerald, Thomas Fitz Morris, David of Barry, being holden of him, and yet, neverthelesse, the same were seized and taken into the Kinges handes, etc. etc.

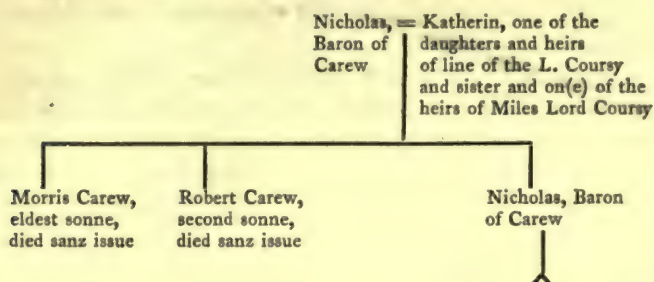
More references to records follow, but the quotation is long enough. With great difficulty I have been able to trace enough of the evidence to assert (1) that Maurice did not, as alleged, die without issue, but left a son and successor ; (2) that he and his son are traceable for some half a century as a branch of the family entirely distinct from their contemporaries, the Carews of Carew and Moultsford, from whom Sir Peter was descended.

¹ See p. 35 above for the earlier pedigree.

² See p. 26 above for the error and confusion here.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CAREWS 39

In the Herald's pedigree prepared for Sir Peter (Harl. Roll, P. 9) the actual words are these :—



The reason for thus foisting Maurice into the line of Sir Peter's ancestors is seen not only in the long note quoted above, but in Wadding's letter to Lord Carew. Wadding himself, as we have seen,¹ had doubted whether Sir Peter 'was heir' to the Cork Carews; but this Herald's pedigree made him heir to Maurice, and Maurice, as I have said, was certainly the Cork Carew.

It is on Maurice then that we must fix our eyes. In the volumes of the *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* Maurice de Carreu appears as early at least as 1285; we regularly find him connected with the county of Cork, and he is regularly summoned, among the magnates of Ireland, to the council and to the host. But he is always in debt to the Crown. At length he joins his lord the king in invading the Scottish realm, and 'for good service done in Scotland' is forgiven £400 'in which he is bound to the king for arrears of farms and rents of lands which he holds *in capite* in Desmond.'² We find him summoned to the Parliament of Kilkenny 8 January, 1310,³ and a Cork deed of 1317 mentions his *curia de Castro Cbori*.⁴ Finally we come to the following all-important record dated 16 July, 1320 :—

Rex mand' Edmundo Hakelute esceatori quod *Thome filio et heredi Mauricii de Carreu* de terris etc. que idem Mauricius tenuit de Rege in capite seisinam habere fac'.⁵

¹ p. 33 above.

² 15 Aug. 1304 (*Calendar*, 1302-7). It should be observed that the amount is £400, not £4,000. 'Desmond' was South Munster. He had received letters of protection, 25 June, 1303, previous to leaving for Scotland.

³ Irish Patent Roll, 3 Edw. II.

⁴ Ibid. 11 Edw. II.

⁵ Irish Close Roll, 14 Edw. II. dorse.

Four days later 'Thomas filius et heres Mauricii de Carreu' acknowledges that he owes to the Chancellor of Ireland £10.¹ So much for the statement that Maurice de Carew 'died sanz issue.'²

We now approach the evidence on which reliance was specially placed for Sir Peter's Munster claim. The Heralds had made him heir to Maurice; he had then to prove that Maurice was heir to Robert Fitz Stephen. Now Robert, when he received his grant of half the kingdom of Cork to be held *in capite* by the service of thirty knights, had bestowed *inter alia* on Philip de Barri, the son of his half-sister, no less a district than three cantreds—Olethan, Muscheri-Dunegan and Killede—to be held of him and his heirs by the service of ten knights.³ To prove that Maurice de Carew stood in the shoes of Robert Fitz Stephen it had to be shown, on the one hand, that he held *in capite* of the Crown, and, on the other, that the Barrys held their great estates of himself. As to the first of these two points, it is very remarkable that a solitary entry shows us Maurice de 'Carreu' charged with '30 services of the army of Tristeldermot' at Easter, 1296;⁴ for we have already seen that in 1236 a Robert de Carew (who, like himself, was not among Sir Peter's ancestors) held by the service of thirty knights in 1236.⁵ This appears, I think, to represent the holding of Robert Fitz Stephen, although, of course, it does not prove a marriage with his 'mythical daughter.'

With the Barry inheritance we come to grips on the Irish Close Roll of 32 Edward III. (1358). A series of entries on that roll tell us in effect that the Barry estates had been taken into the king's hands during a minority, as being held of the king *in capite*, but that they were found by a subsequent inquisition to have been held of Maurice de Carew, from whose son and heir, Thomas, David de Barry had purchased a quitclaim of his right as lord, thus becoming himself a tenant *in capite* of the Crown.⁶ The statement as to this purchase of

¹ Irish Close Roll, 14 Edw. II.

² It is worth nothing that we also have mention of 'Gilbert son of Maurice de Carreu' on the Irish Close Roll of 8 Edw. III. (1334).

³ Compare p. 28 above.

⁴ *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1293-1301*, p. 131.

⁵ On the authority of *Calendar of Carew MSS.* p. 232.

⁶ 'quod predicti Johannes et David (de Barri) illa (manerium de Olethan

lordship is curiously confirmed when we turn for a moment from the Irish to the English Close Rolls. We there find enrolled a deed of Thomas Fitz Maurice, 'lord of Desmond and Okenill' (2 June, 1329), shortly before his creation as Earl of Desmond (22 Aug. 1329), reciting that 'he has purchased from Thomas de Carreu, *cousin and heir of Robert son of Stephen*, the lordship of the manors of Inchecoyng and Le Yoghel.'¹ We can now identify the Thomas de Carew who 'set up a title as heir to Fitz Stephen to all his share of that great estate,'² and whose title was rejected, 31 August, 1331, by a formal inquisition at Cork, on the ground that Robert Fitz Stephen 'was a bastard and died without heirs of his body.'³

The 'ugly' feature in Sir Peter's claim is that, although it rested largely on the above Barry and Fitz Maurice evidence, which involved knowledge of Thomas de Carew, his very existence was coolly ignored and his father made to die 'sanz issue.'

Enough has now been said to show that there were two contemporary and wholly distinct lines of Carew in Ireland, the Carews of cos. Meath and Carlow and the Carews of co. Cork. And not only was Maurice of the latter foisted on the former line, but he was foisted on them by the Heralds at too early a stage. His contemporaries were the son and grandson of the man whose elder brother they made him! The really amazing thing is that Sir Peter's bogus 'title and right' in Munster seems, according to his agent Hooker, to have been admitted without question by the Irish and Anglo-Irish, who, hearing that he was coming 'to dwell among

et maneria de Bottavaunt, Lyscarewell, et Adnagrothan cum pertinentiis in Muscridonegan) tenuerunt de Mauricio de Carreu per servic mil' . . . dicta terra tenebatur de Mauricio de Carreu, et non de Rege in capite, et quod Dav' fil' Dav' fil' Dav' de Barry qui ultimo obiit adquisivit relaxacionem et quiet' clamanc' de Thoma de Carreu filio et herede dicti Mauricii de omnibus serviciis pro terris suis in comitatu Cork', et sic idem David tenens Regis in capite esse devenit anno regni regis nunc 10' [1336-7], etc., etc. (*Record Commission's Calendar*, p. 68. Compare p. 70).

¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1327-30, p. 563. The places are Youghal and Inchiquin adjoining, co. Cork. The (Record Office) *Calendar* (1896) places this Inchiquin in co. Clare, but, I think, wrongly.

² Smith's *History of Cork*, i. 51.

³ Ibid. and O'Donovan's *Annals of Ireland*, v. 1737. Sir John Maclean was rather indignant with Dr. O'Donovan on the subject (pp. 2, 3).

them, if they would yield unto him his right, seemed to be very glad and joyful thereof, and forthwith they all—namely, the Lord Courcye, the Lord Barry Oge,¹ Mac Artye rioght,' etc., etc., agreed with Hooker—

that they would submit themselves and their lands, wholly, unto Sir Peter's devotion and take the same, at his hands, for such reasonable rents as he should assess upon them. And for that which was past they would, in recompense thereof, give him three thousand kine, or cows, which they accounted to be about one year's rent of so much land as they did hold; over and beside the territories which Mac Arty More, the Earl of Desmond, the Lord Fitzmorris . . . the Lord Barrye of Barrymore¹ . . . and others did hold, which far exceeded the rest; and these three thousand cows, after a mark the piece, amounteth to the value of three thousand marks (£2,000), etc.²

Sir Peter had cause, indeed, to bless 'the Haroldes of this realme,' and one hopes that he did not forget 'largesse,' even if it took the embarrassing form of lowing Irish kine.

For Sir Peter was a liberal man. Of his 'beneficence and liberality' his biographer tells us that 'a continual giver he was, but was never taker.'³ Even when he had to explain to a landowner that he must hand him over his land, he did it, we learn, so courteously that he was actually thanked for it!

He sendeth for Sir Christopher Chyvers, who dwelled at Maston . . . and advertised him that the house and lands which the said Sir Christopher then held, was not his but the said Sir Peter's, and that he had good charts to show for the same, and was therefore come to make claim therunto. Sir Christopher, at this motion, was astonished, and albeit it touched him near the quick, yet being very courteously entreated and entertained by Sir Peter, he thanked him for it, etc., etc.⁴

Sir Peter, however, had to go to law, but he won his case against the Irish knight.

IV

A little heraldry may now be not unwelcome for a change. Here is the coat assigned in the Heralds' pedigree to Sir Peter Carew with its sixteen quarterings.⁵ Crest and all it is identical with that to be seen over his monument in Exeter Cathedral.⁶ The black lions of Carew are followed,

¹ See *The Ancestor*, iii. 243.

² *Life*, pp. 100-4.

³ *Ibid.* p. 113.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 79.

⁵ Harl. Roll, P. 9.

⁶ Described and illustrated in Sir John Maclean's book, pp. 121-2.

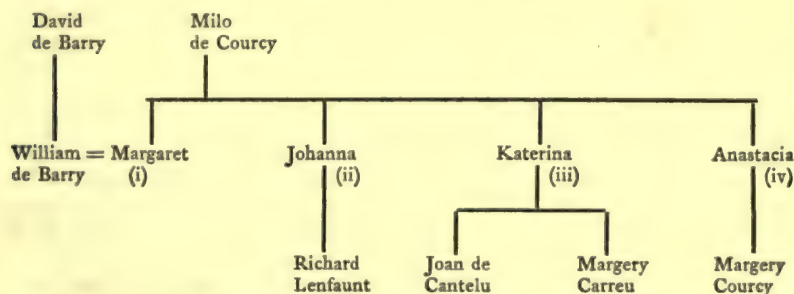


THE ARMS OF SIR PETER CAREW.

as a first quartering, by the arms assigned to Robert Fitz Stephen, per pale gules and argent, a saltire counterchanged. The arms, which are doubtless as imaginary as the right to quarter them, may be based on the saltire of Fitz Gerald. The eagles of De Courcy are the next quartering. On more grounds than one this quartering may be challenged. Reference to the Heralds' pedigree¹ will show that it is accounted for by a marriage of Nicholas de Carew, living, under John and Henry III., with Katherine, heiress or co-heiress of a Lord Courcy. But the first known ancestor of the Lord Courcy does not appear till 1221, and nothing is known of his leaving an heiress or heiresses. From the Lord Courcy being spoken of as Miles, I strongly suspect that this marriage is merely a fearful blunder based on that of a Carew several generations later with a co-heiress who was not a Courcy and was not named Katherine.

When one adds that we do not know who this Carew was, and that he cannot in any case have been an ancestor of Sir Peter, an interesting light is thrown on the value of the 'registered' pedigree.²

The marriage to which I refer is proved by a record of singular interest on the Irish Close Rolls. The king recites the inquisition on the death of Milo de Courcy of Ringrone, and directs the division of all his lands among his co-heirs (21 July, 1372).³ The record sets forth these co-heirs as follows :—



The special interest of this record is that it utterly overthrows the accepted pedigree of the Lords Courcy. According to the latest version, that in the *Complete Peerage*, Milo

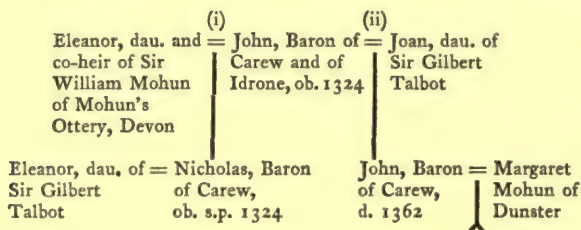
¹ p. 39 above.

² See p. 33 above.

³ *Calendar*, p. 83. Ringrone was the head of Courcy's country, the whole of which was ordered to be thus divided.

de Courcy died in 1358, and was succeeded by his 'son and heir' John de Courcy, 7th (or 8th) lord, who died about 1387.¹ As I have had occasion, more than once, to observe, there is no barony, perhaps, on which more nonsense has been written, or more confusion prevailed, than that of the Courcys of Kingsale.²

The only other of the quarterings that calls for notice is the curious Mohun coat of the maunched hand with its fleur-de-lis. This represents an interesting case of what may be termed a bequeathed coat. It was acquired as follows :—



The documents relating to the marriage of Nicholas are now, it may be interesting to state, in the British Museum.³ As he left no issue, he bequeathed his mother's inheritance to his half-brother John, requesting him to quarter her arms, which thus figure in Carew's shield, like those of Lucy in Percy's shield, in virtue, not of a descent in blood, but of a devise of land with the arms of its former holders.⁴ By

¹ Vol. iv. 393. It is right to add that a footnote warns the reader that 'the account of the barons of Kingsale previous to the middle of the sixteenth century, as also their succession, is very unreliable.'

² Compare *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 103-8.

³ Marriage settlement by John de 'Carru' on Nicholas his son, heir of Alianor, one of the heirs of William de Mohun, his wife, 30 Nov. 1317 (Lans. MS. 672). And receipt from 'Johannes de Carreu, dominus de Carreu' to Gilbert Talbot for an instalment of the £200 which the latter had undertaken to pay for the marriage, Midsummer, 1319 (Lans. MS. 609).

⁴ The statement in 'Heralds' College, C. 1, 26,' according to Sir John Maclean, is, 'This Nicholas, Baron Carew, conveyed his lands by order of lawe to his brother, John, enjoining him to bear the arms of Mohun, his mother, quartered with his own.' In Harl. Roll, P. 9 it is almost identical: 'This Nicholas Baron of Carew bequethed his landes by order of lawe to his brother John, enjoining him to beare his mother's armes quarterly with his cote or name.'

Rather more than a century after the death of Nicholas, the Carews claimed that their ancestor, his half-brother John, was his whole brother, and

this arrangement, which anticipated by more than seventy years the Lucy-Percy devise, Mohun's Ottery became eventually the seat of the Carews; and it was there that Sir Peter pored over his deeds and concocted, in conjunction with Hooker, his great Irish enterprise.

The illustration of the Carew shield with its sixteen quarterings will enable our readers to picture to themselves 'those marvellous pedigree rolls' described by Mr. Barron as typical of the Elizabethan age, with the 'great shield of many quarters' at the foot.¹ Such are the rolls dealt with in this paper (Harl. Roll, P. 9; Add. MS. 30,988), the wife's coat in colours being carefully impaled for each successive match from that with 'Herecourte of Normandy' about the time of Henry II. Now the heralds of Elizabeth's time have become for us a byword; so far as pedigree is concerned, we laugh their legends to scorn. But as to heraldry, modern heralds have contrived to sink deeper still; if heraldry is now 'a silly science,'² it is partly to them that we owe it.

For proof, compare the Carew coat of 1568 with that gem of heraldry up-to-date, the shield of the barony of Conyers, as pictured and described in the latest edition (1902) of *Armorial Families*, with its 134 quarterings. We read of this preposterous object that—

The quarterings officially established in the College of Arms, however, are as follows (*vide* illustration).

Among them are: '103, Carew; 104, Other (gules a saltire argent); 105, Windsor (argent a saltire gules); 106, Fitz Stephen (erm. and gules, a saltire counterchanged).' Now if the Herald's had contented themselves with repeating the coats allowed by their Elizabethan predecessors one might have overlooked the 'bogus' claim to the 'bogus' coat of Fitz Stephen.³ But, not content with this, they interpolated, as

that they were thus heirs of Mohun. The pedigrees they put forward (from De Banco Roll, Hilary, 16 Henry VI. mm. 321, 322) will be found in General Wrottesley's *Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls*, p. 363.

¹ *The Ancestor*, iv. 61.

² *Ibid.* iv. 146.

³ Even its blazon appears to be 'bogus' according to *Armorial Families*, where the tinctures are shown as ermine and gules, although the Elizabethan heralds had made them gules and ermine in Harl. Roll, P. 8 and Add. MS. 30, 988.

shown above, coats of 'Other' and of 'Windsor' between those of Carew and 'Fitz Stephen.' This, I claim, reduces heraldry to the position of 'a silly science,' because those two coats could not be quarterings at all.¹



Other, who was living at the time of the Conquest, cannot possibly have possessed a coat, although the fact has been 'officially established.' And even an Elizabethan herald knew better than to make a Carew quarter the arms assigned to his own male forefathers. But this is how the monstrous and silly shields of modern days are constructed, notably for Welsh houses.² One is really tempted to ask of such 'quarterings' whether, as a tradesman would say, a reduction is made for a quantity.³

¹ See, on this point, the preface to this very work, where 'the English law' on the subject of quarterings is laid down by Mr. Fox-Davies (*Armorial Families* [1902] p. xiii.), and it is explained that they must be acquired through heiresses. Nevertheless, it is observed in the same place (of the Conyers shield) that 'the Lane-Fox family have proved 136,' and we read that 'it is always advisable to submit your claims to the officers of the College, and get your right adjudicated upon and recorded and allowed before assuming quarterings; so very often some or all require careful investigation, and, speaking advisedly, so few people, even amongst those who have made a study of Armory, know how to marshal them correctly.' So it would appear.

² Even in the Conyers shield we meet with the coat of a dear old friend, that 'armigerous person,' Beli Mawr, together with those of Kariadoc, etc., while 'Bellomont,' 'Melent,' and 'Rosemar' are still as near as a herald can get to Beaumont, Meulan, and Roumare, this last reminding us, by its conjunction with Longespee, of a long exploded heraldic legend.

³ See, further, my comments on the 323 quarters 'proved and recorded' at the College of Arms by the Lloyds of Stockton, apparently between 1895 and 1899. 'Belinus the Great (Beli Mawr) King of Britain' plays a considerable part therein (*Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. xii.).

V

The mention of Wales brings me to the last section of my article, and with it we return to our starting-point, the original home of the Carews. A fearful and wondrous thing, we know, is the Welsh pedigree; but in the last number of *The Ancestor* it has found at length a champion. The miserable evidence of records on which we English rely is swept aside by the champion of the Welsh in favour of that of tradition.¹ And tradition, as enshrined in that venerable work known as *The Golden Grove* (1752-65), provides, we learn, the Carews with a pedigree extending for seven generations above Walter Fitz Other to 'Zuria Lopez y^e fair, first Lord of Biscay,' who married 'Dalda f. Sanceo Estegnis Hortunes, Lord of Tavira de Durango.' We are not in the realms of comic opera; we are only in those of Welsh 'tradition.' And its apostle, Mr. Wood, selects this example 'chiefly in order to have the advantage of comparing it with the results of recent research, as appearing in *The Ancestor*, by Mr. Round.'² Let me hasten to assure Mr. Wood that no comparison is possible between 'the results of recent research,' and a pedigree beginning with 'Zuria Lopez' and ending with 'Lugteus Thane of Angwis,' a being who lived apparently about the time of John. The only fit comparison for this pre-Conquest pedigree, of which the scenes are shifted from Biscay to Florence, to Scotland and to Normandy is the now familiar realm of musical comedy.

I am aware that Mr. Wood, 'in the form of axioms,' claims that certain allowances are required by the Welsh pedigree, among which, we find, are these: 'Generations are frequently omitted'; 'an individual occasionally is affiliated to his wife's parents or to one of his wife's parents or (*sic*) one of his own,' or 'to a step-parent'; and 'little attention is paid to the Christian names of women.'² But more is required. Mr. Wood reminds us that his arguments 'in favour of the genuineness of Welsh pedigrees only apply to the descend-

¹ *The Ancestor*, iv. 47. With Mr. Wood's article on 'The Value of Welsh Pedigrees' should be compared the conclusions of a Welsh expert, Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans, on the subject (*Report to Historical MSS. Commission on the Peniarth Collection*, p. vi.): 'When a pedigree reaches back beyond the third generation of the time in which it was originally drawn up, *unless supported by independent documentary evidence*, the work of even the most honest men cannot be trusted.'

² *Ibid.* p. 48.

ants of Gerald de Windsor and Nest, daughter of Rees ap Tewdur.¹ Well, we will take the descendants of Gerald and 'Nesta or Vesta' (*sic*). We find (1) that their daughter 'Momea, rather Rohesia,' married 'Nicholas de Verdon . . . or rather Bertram Lord Verdon'; (2) that their grandson William Fitz Maurice, Baron of the Naas, appears as 'Maurice (some say William)'; (3) that their daughter's sons, the famous Giraldus Cambrensis and his brother Alexander, appear as their own sons; (4) that their son Maurice Fitz Gerald had a son 'Sylvester, Bishop of St. David's,' who is wholly unknown to history. If this is Welsh genealogy at its best, what is its 'value'? One would have imagined that, if he knew anything, a Welsh genealogist would know at least the names of the Bishops of St. Davids; but even this, it appears, is too much to expect. Mr. Wood's fourth axiom runs:—

Previously to 1560 or thereabouts the dates assigned to and facts stated about individuals are not contemporary with the pedigrees, but late and generally quite untrustworthy additions.

One seems to remember that they were so also in 'the bonny house of Coulthart.' But, seriously speaking, this axiom removes what is virtually the sole test that we can apply to 'the value of Welsh pedigrees.' When for instance *The Golden Grove*—which is claimed as 'a good authority for eleventh and twelfth century pedigrees,'² such as that of Nesta's progeny—introduces us to 'Cynfyn Lord of Powys and Earl of Chester,'³ who must have lived somewhere about the beginning of the twelfth century, the convenient 'axiom' intervenes and explains why it is of no consequence that no such Earl of Chester is known. The Welsh genealogist may well pray, 'From all facts and dates, good Lord, deliver us!'

That Mr. Wood is inspired by the same spirit as breathes through *The Golden Grove* is shown by the comments he offers on my twelfth century pedigree. I am rebuked for seeking contemporary evidence, 'which 'by itself would hardly be sufficient even for the most careless herald,' when I might have proved my case 'by the pedigree in the Harleian Roll and that in *The Golden Grove*.'⁴ That a Herald's pedigree of

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid. P. 47.

³ See Mr. Wood's other specimen pedigree.

⁴ *The Ancestor*, ii. 94-5. ⁵ Ibid. iv. 50. The Roll is P. 8.

the seventeenth and a Welsh compilation of the eighteenth century are the proper authorities for the facts of the twelfth are statements so delightfully subversive of all that the historian and the genealogist have now agreed to accept, that they call for no further comment than is supplied by my examination above of Harleian Roll, P. 9, and of *The Golden Grove*. We may leave 'Eugenius Baron of Carew' in the company of 'Inigo y^e left-handed' and 'Zuria Lopez y^e fair.'

Mr. Wood is good enough, as I have observed, to 'make a few criticisms' on my pedigree of the early Windsors, observing that I 'must be conscious of its weakness at certain points.' I am happy to meet those criticisms and will at once address myself to the most definite and direct. In order that I may be scrupulously correct I will cite Mr. Wood's own words:—

Here Mr. Round seems for once to have fallen into a trap, the like of which fortunately for genealogists is rarely set. The facts are these: In Domesday we find under Essex—'Terra Wittī (*sic*) de Warennā. Hundred de Dommauua. Estanes tenuit Duua liva (*sic*) femina, etc.' 'Terra Galteri diaconi. Hund de Witbriatesherna. Eistanes ten & Galt in dno qd tenuit Dodinc, etc.' 'Robert de Windsor obtained Estanes (*sic*) in the days of Henry I. William son of Robert obtained a fresh confirmation of it from Henry II.'¹ Robert de Hastings held Eistanes at the time of the Liber Niger, his son William also holding there; and it has been shown by Mr. Clark that this Robert de Hastings was a son of Walter the Deacon. So that we have two contemporary Williams, sons of two Roberts, sons of two Walters, both Domesday tenants, holding two manors of practically the same name in the same county. What could seem more reasonable than to identify the two men and the two places as Mr. Round has done, though Mr. Clark has not? Yet the daughter and heiress of the one William married the son and heir of the other, and the places are far apart. 'One could not desire a better illustration of the mischief in county history that may follow from identifying wrongly a single Domesday manor.'²

There is here indeed, in Mr. Wood's words, 'a trap the like of which, fortunately for genealogists, is rarely set'—and, in spite of the warning notice board that I had erected on its margin, he has fallen into the midst of it himself.

There are few students who would take the trouble to consult, as Mr. Wood has done, the actual facsimile of

¹ This is a quotation from my article (*The Ancestor*, ii. 92). But I speak there of 'Little Easton,' not of 'Estanes.' The words which follow it represent Mr. Wood's version of 'the facts.'

² This last quotation is taken from my own remarks on the point at issue, which are here, in somewhat premature triumph, turned against myself.

Domesday ; fewer still who would do so only to impress on us the fact that they can neither read it nor understand it if they could. The abbreviation over 'Will[elm]i' has led Mr. Wood to read 'Witti,' and the 'lib[er]a' of the text similarly becomes, in his ingenuous hands, 'liva.' The entry relates to an estate which, being on the fief of William de Warenne, descended with the rest of that fief, and had never anything to do either with a Hastings or with a Windsor. It was not held, as Mr. Wood alleges, by a Domesday tenant named Walter, but by William de Warenne himself 'in demesne.' As a matter of fact it was a manor in Great Easton which does not here concern us. Even Mr. Clark, with all his errors, did not introduce the further one of making a 'Walter' the 'Domesday tenant' of William de Warenne's manor.¹

The excavation of the great trap began with Morant, the historian of Essex, who planted the manor of Walter the deacon down by the sea in the Dengie Hundred where there is no place of the name.² The place which it really belongs to is Little Easton, adjoining Great Easton, in Dunmow Hundred. All this I have duly explained,³ but Mr. Wood calmly ignores it.

Mr. G. T. Clark, relying on Morant,⁴ set to work on the pit with his customary confidence and haste, and it soon assumed, at his hands, most alarming proportions. Of the great legacy of errors bequeathed by this ardent writer, his origin of the house of Hastings is by no means the least. He found in the *Liber Niger* a return of the 'Baronia Roberti de Hastings,' and promptly assigned it to 1165, which, by the way, he erroneously supposed to be the date of the *Liber Niger* itself. Critical examination shows that it belongs neither to 'the date of the *Liber Niger*' nor to '1165' (i.e. 1166), but to an intermediate date, probably the reign of Richard I.⁵

¹ *Arch. Journal*, xxvi. 121-2, 130.

² He was misled by the erroneous Hundredal heading in Domesday. See *Victoria History of Essex*, i. 349, 391, 393.

³ *The Ancestor*, ii. 92. Little Easton is the 'Assen (*sic*) parva' of his Welsh pedigree.

⁴ *Arch. Journal*, xxvi. 121-2, 130.

⁵ As I have already explained, the editor of the *Liber Rubens* (Mr. Hubert Hall) comes to grief here, not recognizing that this return is later than the *Cartæ Baronum*.

In this return he found that Robert de Hastings had an under-tenant called 'William Fitz Robert,' ancestor of the Dorset family of Godmanstone of Godmanstone. Him he transformed into the son and heir of his lord, Robert de Hastings (!), and then he turned Robert himself into a composite being, whom he named 'Robertus d'Estan, de Hastings or Mascherel,' and boldly made this composite being the son and heir of Walter the Deacon living at least a century before.¹ It is enough to take away the breath even of a Welsh genealogist. There can be nothing madder in *The Golden Grove*.

To Mr. Wood however it is all sane, it is all gospel truth. And solely on the strength of these blunders, against which I had warned my readers, he proclaims that my statement, which is absolutely correct, is based on my fall 'into a trap'! I must therefore meet his statements of fact by these plain rebuttals: (1) Of his 'two contemporary Williams,' we find, one was *not* the son of his Robert, who was *not* the son of his Walter; (2) of these Williams the son of one did *not* marry the daughter of the other²; (3) there were *not* 'two manors' in the case, and the places, even if there had been, would *not* have been 'far apart.'³

I think therefore I may ask Mr. Wood to refrain, in future, from citing against me records which he cannot read and 'facts' which are exploded errors.

The origin of the Carews is now certain. They were neither Normans of the house of Montgomery, as alleged in the Heralds' pedigree, nor were they descendants of Italian Gherardini, banished from Florence in the twelfth century⁴; nor can they 'trace,' as alleged, their descent, 'without interruption, from the Anglo-Saxon period of English history.'⁵ Still less can they claim as patriarch Zuria Lopez of Biscay; and least of all can we allow them, as the first founder of their race, a comrade of Æneas. But their descent is clear from the Norman Conquest, at the time of

¹ See *The Ancestor*, ii. 91; and *Arch. Journ.* xxvi. 129.

² I am here speaking of his own Williams, i.e. William de Windsor and the 'William Fitz Robert' of the Hastings return.

³ His Domesday entries, as I have explained, relate to two adjoining parishes.

⁴ *The Ancestor*, i. 121.

⁵ See *Burke's Peerage*, under Carew of Haccombe.

which must have lived Other, their direct ancestor. This Other however has not yet been identified, and had nothing to do, as I have shown, with 'a great noble of Aquitaine,' living 'about 660.'¹

I think that I can now even explain the curious but confident belief that the great house of Fitz Gerald was really of Trojan origin. Giraldus, when exalting the glory of his house in *Expugnatio Hibernia*, exclaims :—

O genus ! O gens ! gemina natura a Trojanis animositatem, a Gallis armorum usum originaliter trahens.²

This at first sight might suggest that he believed in their Trojan origin ; and his words probably gave rise to the subsequent assertion thereof. But their real meaning is evident from another passage in his works, in which he writes of Walter of Coutances :—

Galterius iste ab antiqua et authentica Britonum prosapia Trojanæ nobilitatis apicem præferente.³

Steeped in the legends of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Giraldus traced the Britons to Brut, and Brut himself to Troy. Gerald, founder of the house of Fitz Gerald, having married the daughter of a Welsh prince, his children were 'of Gaul' on the father's side, but of princely Welsh descent, and therefore 'of Troy,' on the mother's. Unconscious witness to their 'gemina natura' is borne by Miss Norgate, who writes of Giraldus that 'on both sides he came of a race of fighting men.'⁴

The Carews are remarkable not merely for possessing a clear pedigree to the Conquest, but for tracing that pedigree through a tenant-in-chief of 1086 and for possessing even under Henry I. so great a territory in south Wales. The preservation of so ancient a house in the male line to the present day is an interesting and very rare phenomenon ;⁵ and it is a fitting object of genealogical inquiry to ascertain whether any bearers of the name beyond the Carews of Haccombe (baronets since 1661) can prove, in the male

¹ *The Ancestor*, ii. 173.

² Ed. Rolls Series, v. 326.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 408.

⁴ *England under the Angevin Kings*, ii. 453.

⁵ This assertion is subject, of course, to the uncertainty at present of the pedigree in the thirteenth century spoken of on p. 27 above.

line, their descent from the parent stock.¹ Carew of Antony became extinct in the direct male line in 1748, though represented in blood and estate, through heiresses, by Pole-Carew ; but the extinction of its whole male stock or even of heirs to its baronetcy (1641) appears to be 'not proven.'² Another branch, the Carews of Crowcombe, which re-acquired the *stammbaus*, Carew Castle, by grant from Charles I., became similarly extinct in the direct male line in 1766, when their estates passed to an heiress. Carew of Beddington, a well known house, became extinct in the male line as early as 1611. The family of Lord Carew (in the peerage of Ireland) appears to be allowed by the Heralds the arms, undifferenced, of the ancient house, although no attempt is made to carry its pedigree, even in *Burke's Peerage*, beyond a Robert Carew living in Ireland under Charles I., who is vaguely described as 'a descendant of the great and ancient family of that name.' This is a claim which would doubtless be made, and *prima facie* rightly made, by every bearer of the name ; but attention may be called to the fact that an unfortunate gentleman who bears it has been pilloried in a certain notorious work for using the old coat, while Lord Carew's right to it is recognized, although his descent from the ancient house is not, we have seen, vouchsafed. As is well known to experts in genealogy, there is usually great difficulty in connecting the founders of Irish families, in the seventeenth century, with the parent stocks in England.

J. HORACE ROUND.

¹ There is a pretty story in Hooker's *Life* that, when Sir Peter, as a boy, had been neglected in France by the knight to whom his father had entrusted him and allowed to become a mere groom, 'one Carew of Haccombe in the county of Devon, Esquire,' who was 'riding to the court' of France in state with letters from Henry VIII., heard the other horseboys calling to 'Carew Anglois,' and, rescuing his young kinsman, trained him up 'in the Court of France like a gentleman, and in riding and in other such exercises as most meet for one of service.'

² See G. E. C.'s *Complete Baronetage*, ii. 126, note.

THE ANTIQUARY AND THE NOVELIST

THE English novel remains the only flourishing English industry, since the City has taken the control of the bicycle trade out of the hands of mechanic manufacturers ignorant of the higher finance. For year by year the output grows, and the appetite of the novel reader grows by reading. Yet the demand is still for the English product. Here at least, as those adventurers who have steered a straight course through a German novel are eager to inform us on their return, we need have no fear of foreign competition, and although certain earnest publishers may curse our insular palates, the Russian novel, vast and dismal as its native wastes, is still Russian caviare to our general.

Earth, sea and sky, and the waters under the earth have been picked over, netted and dredged by the hard-working novelist for wonders wherewith to decorate his constructions. We have come to view the hero as he steps off in his first chapter even as we view the acrobat in his fleshings making his first reverence to his audience. At the familiar turn of the printed page, as at the flash of the spangles, we are armed against surprise, for 'situation' is all but exhausted and the next somersault can hardly be much higher than the last. How pleasant then to remark that many of the ancient devices still give pleasure, and that the new and successful novel is often the one which observes most faithfully the ancient unities of the art.

The old fancies move in our veins. The antiquary as genealogist will note that we still prefer our heroes to be nobly born. Our demands are not unreasonable; we make no condition that the hero should be born of ancient kings. The Rassendylls were so born, it is true, but their family history is a delicate business, one of those which more concern the writers of confidential memoirs or the author of the wicked footnotes to the *Complete Peerage* than the genealogist who must work by documentary evidence. And some Rassendylls, it would appear, are Rassendylls, whilst others cannot hide their Ruritanian hair even under their respectable English

top hats, a fact which does not make the Rassendyll pedigree any less bewildering. Kings are, however, beginning to make their way as heroes of the popular novel, especially the athletic young sovereigns of Balkan kingdoms obscurely set in the map, and at least one emperor, a secretly nurtured Buonaparte, has in these last years captained the crew of one of those lightly-built six-shilling corvettes which have swept the seas of the old three-decker. The duke is more unfamiliar material than the king, although he moves with massive grace in many a group of background characters. It may be that something of early Victorian awe still cramps our novelist's pen when he would give us a duke, for to the Englishman the duke is upon the cloud-capped pinnacle of the social order. The Royal House is a thing apart and almost as impersonal as the Army, the Navy, the Auxiliary Forces, or the Prosperity of the Country under Free Trade; the great statesman has been humbled by the caricaturists with whom we study our politics to be the familiar accessory of a golf club or an orchid; whilst the lesser titles have been regrettably cheapened by their bestowal upon men of science and the like unpicturesque people. But a duke remains a duke, human it may be even as we are, but remote and beautiful as a ruined abbey approached only by paths the Trespassers on which will be Prosecuted. It is true that poor Harold Frederic gave us Christian, Duke of Glastonbury, but Duke Christian's maker was American-born and lacked something of our English reverence.

Exalted rank, then, we ask not for our hero. Let him come of a squire's house if he will, but let it be at least as old a house as that of the Dales of Allington. Captain Dodd's family was untitled, but the fact that his ancestors had held twenty manors under the Heptarchy commands the respect of readers of *Very Hard Cash* in almost as great a degree as the captain's masterly handling of the Agra in that famous brush with the pirates of the Straits. In this matter the demand of the novel-reader is as definite as that of the lady memorable even amongst the thousand guests we have met at dinner with our Dickens, who said, for her part, give her Blood. Waterbrook, we believe, was her honourable name, and she spoke boldly for millions of novel readers who have most of them, more's the pity, ceased to read about her.

The novelist has given her Blood without stint, even with such measure as his fellow romancer, the peerage-maker, dealt

it to his patrons, which peerage-maker indeed, in these carping and questioning times, he may easily distance. For evil days are coming upon the old-fashioned genealogist in whose fostering hands the sapling pedigree of a newly made peer or baronet was wont to wax to the similitude of a spreading oak after a fashion which the achiever of the mango tree wonder might regard with envy. Well might an angry genealogist of the fearless old fashion say in his wrath, as we recorded of one in the last number of *The Ancestor*, that the new school of critics would soon deny that Duke William 'came over' at all, so thinned are the ranks become of those whose claim to have accompanied him is passed by the new criticism. But the novelist goes unchallenged by Mr. Round or Mr. Cockayne, and a new novel lies before us even now in which the hero's pedigree, deduced from an ancestor who steered hither in a Viking longship, is established with such accuracy and certainty as to waken envy in the breast of those Landed Gents who have seen their own Viking ancestors snatched from them by iconoclasm calling itself research.

Although the choicest of his feats figure in many a first chapter the genealogist himself is in the shadow of the background. Sir Walter Besant played with him cautiously; an elderly man, shabby, mysterious and iniquitous, was the genealogist as Sir Walter saw him, but the genealogist at work in noonday is shy and rare. Only in one modern novel with which we shall deal on a later page, are we able to follow his procedure. In his full splendour we find him in Baptist Hatton of the Inner Temple, the peer-maker of Disraeli's *Sybil*. 'If you wish to be Lord Bardolph,' says this great creature 'I can make you so. It will give you precedence over every peer on the roll except three—and I made those.' But the methods of Mr. Hatton are obscure—it would seem that all records relating to the peerage had been collected by him in his Temple chambers, where they lay upon his table, a tumbled and awe-compelling mass of parchments. Beyond this curious fact little can be learned of the processes whereby Mr. Hatton was prepared to make of a humble baronet the fourth peer on the roll. 'A baronet's title,' he would say, 'is one for which I have always had a great contempt.' Mr. Baptist Hatton, one of the most improbable characters in our reckless English fiction, can make but one plea for our toleration. Such a personage really existed in the earlier years of Queen Victoria's reign, and the

theory of the early Victorian lawyers concerning baronies in abeyance enabled him to set upon the benches of the House of Lords new peers whose old titles had been unfamiliar in that house since the days of piked shoon.

Despite this excuse of a foundation in fact, an excuse which, if allowed, would sanction any improbabilities in our novel, Baptist Hatton is, as we have said, an unlikely personage, and we are moved by contemplating him to lay down certain broad rules within which it were well for our novelist to keep, if he would live and not die in some future evil day when fastidious reviewers will conspire to demand of an already overstrained manufacturer of novels some measure of likelihood or accuracy in the archæological detail which goes with the thousand other gathered trifles to the stuffing and plumping of his book.

First let us speak of family antiquity. Concerning this noble and well tried ingredient of the novelist's balsam we can but urge that moderation and yet again moderation. 'Your father, my dear children, is of a Norman family, and I myself of a Saxon one.' Thus Mrs. Markham (of the History of England) if we may trust a memory of nursery lesson time, and Mrs. Markham as a historian would not have spoken hastily or with unweighed words. But such a case as the ancestry of the three little Markhams is very rare outside that household. Go to Mr. Shirley's *Noble and Gentle Men of England* to learn with wonder how few English families have held land since the beginning of the Tudor period, and remember the while that families who are landless have weakened or broken the strongest link in their traceable pedigrees. Look again at Mr. Shirley's book and read how a railway carriage will hold the heads of the families which in his opinion might claim such origins as good Mrs. Markham and her husband claimed with such unshaken confidence, and remember also that Mr. Shirley handled no man's pedigree too roughly, and more than one descent which we of the generation which follows him know for a fabrication of Elizabethan heralds and genealogists was allowed to pass Mr. Shirley's watch box. Moderation then is counselled by the reading of Mr. Shirley's book. Let your old family of squires arise in, let us say, the fifteenth century, and their pedigree will still command respect amongst them that know. Take the ancestors of your great lord to the thirteenth century and he will be still of those whose long descent is in the mouths of antiquaries. If these be counsels of perfection make a stand

at the reign of Henry with the Short Mantle, flourish your pen boldly and refuse passage beyond that date to the hero's ancestral tablets. And if resolution fail, and if tradition of the craft force you in your weakness to grant the hero an ancestor at Hastings on either side of Mr. Freeman's palisade, at least affect to make marvel of it and put awe into your readers, telling them that there are not many such families as that of Guy Longbowfield who is discovered by your reader in a war-stained suit of khaki and a clean first chapter.

Surnames and names Christian may occupy usefully the next stage of our studies. Even in the handling of Christian names there are dangers for the historical romancer, as Sir Conan Doyle showed when in seeking for a tenant in Domesday Book whose name should proclaim the purity of his Saxon descent he misread Godric, the most 'Saxon' of names, and set in its place Godfrey, which is a recommendable name for a Norman invader. If you are equipping a bold archer to follow the Black Prince through three campaigns and four hundred printed pages call him neither Sam nor Silas, keeping such names as these for your seventeenth-century plotters or eighteenth-century pirates. Above all things beware of the double name. A double name occurring in what purported to be an early Tudor will called the attention of a trained antiquary to the most impudent record forgery of recent times. Even after the Tudors had passed away the practice of giving the double Christian name was a rare one, and setting foreigners aside we might pencil upon a playing card all the Englishmen who carried this new fashion in names. King Charles's elder brother bore two names, for royalty had begun to follow outlandish customs. Sir Edward Maria Wingfield bore a second name for piety's sake; Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Carew because of his adoption by a Carew of Beddington; Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby for the remembrance of his posthumous birth. A few more had added what is rather a second surname than a second Christian name by reason of their mother's heirship of a greater family than their own. But the double Christian name is rare enough until the close of the reign of King George III., and its frequency begins in the mid-Victorian period, royal example prevailing against our ancient custom. There was, it is said, a theatrical manager, who laid down a rule, great in its simplicity, for the dressing of his costume plays. 'Before Christ,' said this manager,

‘Sandals ; after Christ—Top Boots!’ Let us say then for the period before the coming of the trousers—single names—and, for the trousered ages, double names. A novel which must be now a generation old in bin, and is yet a readable one, occurs to us in *Debenham’s Vow*. The heir, son of a ruined gambler, and brought up by his mother in ignorance of the ancient peerage to which he had succeeded, visits for the first time the parish church hard by the castle of his forefathers. The church is full of their memorials, and although Debenham had made no study of such matters as the palæography of inscriptions, instinct, no less, must have aided him as he rapidly copied the narrative of a collection of family monuments so complete that the pedigree at last lay before him in his notebook from his father, the gambler, to the crusader-founder of the house, who lay there before him, a rude effigy with his name beside it. That crusader’s name, alas, was Geoffrey William de Benham, and was in itself as improbable an equipment for a crusader as would be a Maxim gun.

‘Yea and yit a point,’ as Piers the Plowman says. After this satisfactory discovery of his forefathers, Debenham divides his name as his father and all his fathers had divided it, and Debenham becomes De Benham for the rest of the volume. But this custom of Debenham’s family makes bad precedent for the novelist. Remember that of Englishmen who to-day carry a loose ‘de’ before their surnames, the most part are of foreign descent. The rest come of grandparents whom the great medieval revival which followed the Waverley Novels moved to adorn themselves into a particle which had been all but unknown in England since the first half of the fifteenth century, and which had never possessed in these islands that nobiliary character which the French nation have chosen to assign to it. De Bathe, De Trafford and the rest are restorations in the modern Gothic manner. In ordinary speech *Dominus Ricardus de Assheton* of the Charter Latin was Sir Richard of Assheton—or simply Sir Richard Assheton.

The armory of the hero’s family must be treated with a gingerly hand, and many examples there be that stand for a warning. Unless the novelist know something of ancient heraldry, which cannot be studied from handbooks, it were better to allow it to colour the page with a few broad touches. ‘Sir Amaury’s charger plunged down the steep path from the

outer ward. Turning in his high-peaked saddle, Sir Amaury looked back, and in the gathering gloom saw, perhaps for the last time, the blue pig of the Pentonvilles flap from the banner staff.' In the heat of the *mêlée* a cry of 'St. Wapshot for the blue pig' may be allowed to escape from under Sir Amaury's *basnet*—but shun detail. Think on the fate of Malcolm the Misticot. He was, as all pious readers of Sir Walter will remember, a collateral ancestor of Sir Arthur Wardour of Knockwinnock. Although the good providence of Sir Walter had chosen the year 1150 for the period of his activities, he insisted upon using a shield of arms before such toys had come into fashion, adding to his offence by charging that shield with the '*bâton sinister*,' to indicate the painful scandal attending his birth into the Wardour pedigree. Be it noted that, despite the handbooks, the middle ages made use of no token which, when seen upon a shield, indicated illegitimacy of birth. The need for such a charge has been felt by journalist and novelist, who have between them invented the *bar sinister*, a device unknown of old time, formless and mysterious, and popular to a point which keeps it securely placed in the language.

The novelist may reply that he has gone for wisdom to the peerages, which still commemorate the arrival under Duke William of knights clad in garments of needlework wrought about with the ancient bearings of their houses, and that the newest history of the House of Percy brings the ancestor of all the Percys over sea in 1066 with the Percy arms upon his shield. Nevertheless it will be wiser to date the hero's blazonry no earlier than the reign of Cœur de Lion, with whom began the shield of England itself, to which shield the shield of Pentonville might gracefully cede the greater ancientness of origin.

It is well to make clear that the arms of Sir Amaury de Pentonville were borne upon his coat and shield, his banner and horse-trappers. His crest tops his helm and must never be seen apart from it; indeed, unless Sir Amaury be splintering lances in the tiltyard before the eyes of the king and the ladies, the crest had better be left at home.

The ancient motto of the hero's house is another matter which were better abandoned. The 'motto' is after all an affair of notepapers and bookplates in most cases. If a medieval '*resoun*' be demanded some play may be made

with three or four words in fifteenth-century French, preferably of obscure meaning. But the novelist must be advised that he will trace that 'motto' at his proper peril to the days of King Richard and Saladin. He must not be influenced by recurrent newspaper paragraphs that the 'mottoes' of certain noble houses came from Palestine with the Jerusalem artichoke. Especially let him take heed to the fact that the ancient helm offered no convenience for displaying a written label with *mens conscia recti* above or below the crest, although the flaps of our envelopes find no difficulty in the arrangement.

An example may be hazarded of the way in which the motto and the motto legend should not be treated in fiction.

'Pausing for a moment before the doorway, De Vieuxjeu seized the rusted handle of the doorbell and woke the Gothic echoes of the passage in his instinctive compliance with the direction to "Ring also." Stepping backward he looked up at the rude stone panel above the arch. The sight called up many memories. Mouldering there amongst grey and ruinous carvings was the motto of his house, *Cbi va piano va sano*. Here at the threshold of his ancestral home he recalled the settler's homestead in Tierra del Fuego and the thin aristocratic face of his exiled father telling his only son for the hundredth time the proud story of that motto and of his red-crossed ancestor, Blondel de Vieux Jeu. Blondel was one of that group of Anglo-Norman chivalry which, following the mobile Saracens on the high road to Ascalon, were ambushed in a craggy vale by the treacherous Orientals. In the regrettable incident which followed many hands were held up in token of submission, but the mailed mittens of Blondel were not amongst them. Opening the lid of one of those great musical instruments which the flying columns of King Richard were wont to carry with them, he concealed himself within its recesses. The Saracens, who only knew of these instruments as the cases in which their mangonels and arblasts were brought through the custom house of Tyre, a port then held by the crusading host, left him unharmed upon the field until King Richard himself arrived with the main body. On hearing the voice of his lion-hearted sovereign, Blondel, still prisoned in his place of safety, struck the wires with his practised hand. "*Blondel m'appelle*," cried the delighted Richard, recognizing the air, and the gallant Blondel, released from the prisoning lid, was granted upon the spot the right to sur-

mount his ancient crest of the demi oaf *goutté de boue* with that motto of *Cbi va piano va sano*, which was to float over many a stricken field of France. *Cbi va piano va sano*. De Vieuxjeu looked downward. A white-haired butler had been standing at the open door for fifteen minutes.'

If the exigencies of our six-shilling novel demand that a hero, the foundling of Chapter I., should be allowed to trace step by step his descent from a race of earls whose broad lands and strong boxes await him late in the last shillingsworth, a forest of guide posts spring up to warn the novelist by the mishaps of his forerunners. Warning is needful before ever the will be engrossed. If the will is to be discovered in the family vault or other damp and unwholesome place of deposit, parchment would be the better material for it, but the will which goes amissing is most frequently in the novel of the powdered wig and broad skirted period, and it would be well to remember that for the postmedieval period at least, wills were all but invariably engrossed upon sheets of papers. The habit of referring to a will as 'that parchment' is therefore one which does not make for verisimilitude. On the stage of course recognized conventions must be obeyed, and a paper will would be deservedly hissed and discredited by the gallery.

The parish register has many pitfalls. To destroy the evidence of a marriage contracted after a certain Act of 1837 it is not enough to burn a church with the register book and parish clerk locked together in the vestry. Sir Percival Glyde was at some pains to destroy a register by fire, but had he survived the incident his instinct for thoroughness would have taken him to London to burn Somerset House and its records, a feat which Wilkie Collins would have doubtless been delighted to arrange for him. On the stage we understand that a marriage may be annulled by the tearing into pieces of a three and sevenpenny registrar's certificate of the ceremony, but we again urge upon the novelist the need for allowing the drama to establish its own conventions.

A pedigree case of great rarity and beauty is exhibited in detail by the late Mr. Grant Allen's novel of *Blood Royal*, a novel unusually rich in passages to our purpose. The hero's name is Plantagenet. His belief in his descent from the ancient royal house of this realm flickers before him until the last chapter, which robs him cruelly of that

belief, leaving him insulted rather than consoled by the ample fortune which the discovery of his true but humbler origin tosses at his feet.

Young Richard Plantagenet is no fumbling theory spinner. He is presented to us as a genealogical expert of proven ability. He can even read Norman-French, which, it appears is so rare an accomplishment that for its sake the chief clerkship in the 'pipe roll and tally office' falls into his lap with two hundred and fifty pounds of yearly salary and swiftly-arriving increments.

Yet, tell it not in the pipe roll and tally office, we believe that the accomplishments of Richard Plantagenet as an antiquary were overrated by the high official who bestowed upon him that excellent start in life. We begin to mistrust Master Richard when we discover his belief that the kings of the house of Anjou and their sons and descendants held Plantagenet to be their surname and used it one and all as freely as Smith signs Smith and Robinson Robinson. But if we put aside the curious assumption of the name by York, who had culled it from the legends of the chroniclers to use it in the proclamation of his rights, we have no Plantagenet in England until the day when an English king bestowed it upon a son whose irregular birth called for the invention of a surname for him. Our Richard's own claim was for a descent from Lionel 'Plantagenet,' Duke of Clarence, 'concerning whom,' says Richard hotly, 'Lysons says, without a shadow of authority, *decissit sine prole*—he died without issue.' By this time we have made up our minds about Richard—he is a treacherous fellow, he is deceiving Mr. Grant Allen. That trustful novelist is persuaded to say of Richard, 'He knows what evidence is, and he won't go wrong therefore by making heedless assumptions and incredible skips and jumps like half our genealogists.' And this of Richard who takes Lysons for his principal authority in the royal pedigree, and maligns that good doctor by attributing to him—pass for the bad Latin which may be Richard's—a statement concerning the end of Lionel of Clarence which Mrs. Markham or Little Arthur of the History might hasten to refute!

We are privileged to be witnesses of the last scene of Richard's search for his royal ancestry. He has made a great and joyful discovery of a deed which makes his own ancestor, Thomas Plantagenet, a party to a conveyance of 1533, the son

of Giles Plantagenet of Framlingham in Suffolk, which Giles, on account of his name, has always been regarded by Richard as the missing link between Thomas Plantagenet and one Geoffrey Plantagenet of Richmond, 'the last traceable descendant of Lionel of Clarence.' If we had not Mr. Grant Allen to vouch for Richard we should say that 'heedless assumption' was in the air.

There is but one step to be taken for the clearing up of this point, and it is one which we confess would never have occurred to the workaday antiquary—a simple step, and we cannot understand why Richard has delayed it so long.

It is to search the parish register of Framlingham.

To Framlingham we go with Richard, chuckling the while in our sleeve. For Richard, 'who knows what evidence is,' is going to Framlingham to consult the fifteenth-century register; and parish registers, even when they survive whole and uninjured, cannot begin earlier than the injunctions of Thomas Cromwell which instituted them in 1538!

But when Richard in the vestry of Framlingham church has opened the fatal volume we are disconcerted to find that the laugh is with our searcher.

Nor was he disappointed about the preservation of the Framlingham records. The church possessed a singularly perfect collection of baptismal and marriage entries *from the beginning of the fifteenth century onward.*

And as we, abashed and astonished, look over Richards' shoulder we are favoured with a view of the first fifteenth-century parish register entry that has ever found its way into an antiquary's note book.

It was a mongrel entry, half Latin and half English: *Die 14 Junij anno 1498 Giles the son of Richard Plantagenet cobbler and of Joan uxoris eius huius parochiæ.*

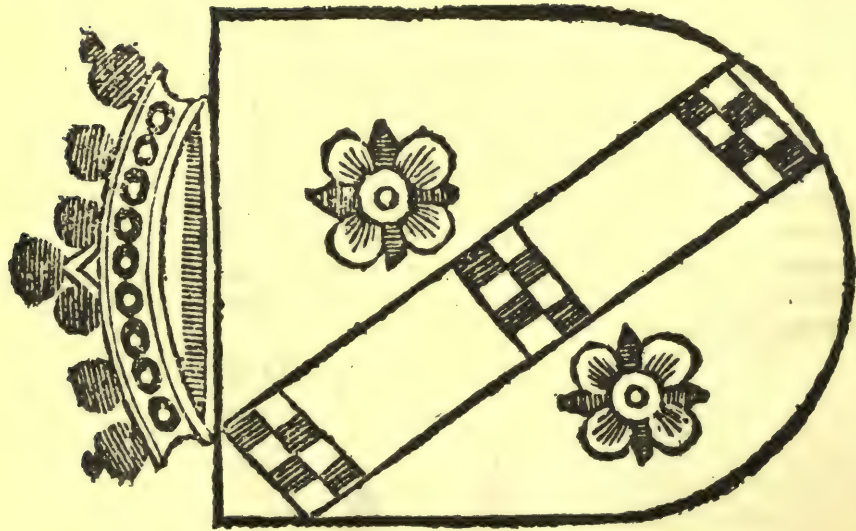
Richard's cherished pedigree collapses at the sight of this entry. He goes out pale and fainting into the sunlight, and we cannot help him. In a novel as in a nightmare we are powerless, and no one of his fellow characters tells him of the injunctions of 1538, which prove that the early register book of Framlingham could have been but the laborious practical joke of a rector or parish clerk.

In a few short passages Mr. Grant Allen has given us a noteworthy example of the need for shunning detail which exists for all novelists who would prepare themselves for their

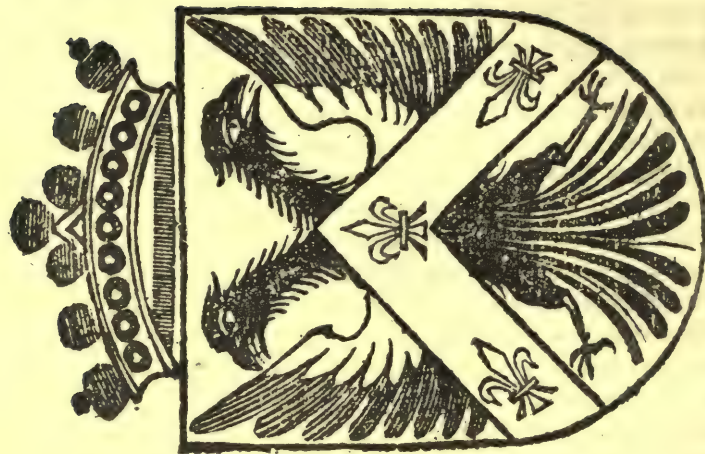
career without at least a pass degree in elementary genealogy. Yet Mr. Grant Allen loved local colour and corroborative details. That he had visited the Public Record Office in search of these good commodities we cannot doubt when we read his story of *John Cann's Treasure*. The young hero of this vigorous fancy is discovered at the Record Office immersed in the private correspondence of a famous seventeenth-century buccaneer, whose letters would appear to have been collected and filed amongst the State Papers (Colonial Series). 'It is closing time, sir,' says the attendant's voice, 'and I will trouble you to put those letters back in C.17.' We can only explain the attendant's request by suggesting that Mr. Grant Allen's search for local colour had led him to take a peep through the swing doors of the Round Room at the Record Office—and a peep only. No one was there to explain to him that the shelves which go about the Round Room contain no manuscripts—but calendars and indices in various states of disrepair, and we cannot avoid the suspicion that Mr. Allen was of opinion that the records of our country, whose unbelievable vastness is the pride and wonder of Fetter Lane, are lodged in those few pigeonholes of the Round Room, from which the searcher may help himself to a buccaneer's letter home or to an odd volume of *Domesday Book* provided that he replace the object of his study safe on its accustomed shelf.

So much then for the pedigree, for the shield, for the crest and the motto. In dealing with all these things the novelist will remember that in vagueness, vagueness, and again in vagueness will be found ease and safety and the shadow of accuracy. And here we pause, being unable to affect any longer the belief that the novelist is looking up at us and drinking in our words. For we know very well he is doing nothing of the kind.

OSWALD BARRON.



Conde de Carrion, su apellido Carbolay
año de 1366.



Conde de Trastámara año de 1366.
Duque de Molina y Soria año de 1371.
Su apellido Clacuin.

A NOTE UPON ARMS ATTRIBUTED TO SIR HUGH CALVELEY, COUNT OF CARRION

THE life of Sir Hugh Calveley is in general too well known for its recapitulation to be necessary here.

If, among the English captains of the fourteenth century his name is undoubtedly great, the place he occupies is yet a secondary one, and falls between such men as Chandos or Felton, and Hawkwood the mere condottiere. As leader of a 'company' and, at the same time, loyal follower of his natural prince, the struggle between Enrique of Trastamara and Pedro the Cruel shows the great Cheshire man at the most picturesque as well as the obscurest portion of his career. It is probable, in fact, that the minute account of his doings in Spain hardly survived the convulsions of his day, perhaps therefore the darkness covering this portion of his career will never be dispersed. Here it is not our intention to attempt other than an elucidation of an interesting heraldic problem arising from his sojourn in the Peninsula in 1366-7; the historical outline of this and of the preceding portion of Pedro's reign, necessary to an understanding of the case, is as follows :—

Pedro I. of Castile's ill-usage and murder of his wife Blanche de Bourbon, his many other murders, including those of a half-brother and of a cousin, had united against him Charles V. of France, Pope Urban V. and Pedro IV. of Aragon, together with the majority of his subjects. His policy towards his bastard half-brothers, the sons of Alfonso XI. by Leonora de Guzman, had from the beginning been one of extermination, and from the murder of that lady (1351) may be traced a rebellion which, covert at the start, ended with the invasion of Castile by Enrique, the eldest of the brothers, and Pedro's flight to Seville, to Galicia, and ultimately to Bayonne. Enrique, who had taken refuge across the Pyrenees, soon saw, in the attitude of France, Aragon and the Pope, that matters were ripe for his attempt upon the Castilian crown. Legitimized by the latter, he took into his service the 'free companies' or 'routiers,' a considerable army of mercenaries

from the recent French war, of which Charles V. had hoped to rid his dominions by a diversion into Spain, under the leadership of Bertrand du Guesclin. With the latter, lately ransomed from Sir John Chandos, were Jean de Bourbon, Count de la Marche and the Maréchal d'Andreham.

Among the English knights and leaders of companies who joined¹ the enterprise were Sir Hugh Calveley, Sir Robert Knolles, Matthew Gurnay and John Devereux.

Chandos Herald² describes the captains :

Monsieur Bertram de Claykyn
 Qui ot le coer hardi et fyn
 Et le bon Johan de Burbon
 Qui countes de la Marche eust noun
 Et Dandenham le mareschall
 Qui ot le coer preu et loiall
 Eustace Dabrichecourt
 Qui fuist homme de noble court
 Monsieur Hugh de Caluelee
 Qui volontiers fiert de lespee
 Et Monsieur Mahev de Gournay
 Et maint autre chiualer varray (1955)

And their heterogeneous forces :

Englois et François et Breton
 Normandi Pikardi et Gascoigne
 Entrerent toutz dedeins Espaigne
 Auxi fist la grant compaignie
 Le bon de Calverlee Hugon
 Et Gournay le soen compaignon
 Et main bon chivaler hardy
 Passerent la sans detry (2017)

¹ December 6, 1365, is the date of an order of Edward III. to Chandos, Calveley, Nicholas Dagworth and W. de Elmham, enjoining them, he being allied with Castile, 'sur la foi & ligeance que vous nous devez, . . . que tantost veues nos presentes lettres vous vous treez envers les marches ou ailleurs, dedanz nos seignuries & puissance, & les amonestez & chargez depar nous sur leur ligeance & sur la paine dessusdite que nul d'eulx entre le roialme n'autre seigneurie du roi d'Espaigne . . . ' Calveley is represented by Catalina Garcia as disobeying his sovereign (*Castilia y Leon durante los reinados de Pedro I.*, etc.), but the previous paragraph runs, 'Si avons ja entenduz que aucuns gentz d'armes et autres de notre ligeance, assemblez en certaines compaignies, le pais de nostre seigneurie d'Aquitaigne s'afforcent d'entrer le roialme d'Espaigne.'

² *The Black Prince*, an historical poem . . . by Chandos Herald, with . . . notes by the Rev. H. O. Coxe; printed for the Roxburghe Club; 4to, London, 1842.

The early days of 1366 found Sir Hugh at Barcelona, where on January 9 he witnessed¹ Pedro of Aragon's grant of Borja to Du Guesclin ; his subsequent successes at Borja and Magallon paved the way to the surrender of Calahorra, where on March 16, 1366, Enrique was proclaimed King of Castile. Pedro's flight from Burgos was followed, on April 5, by its reception of the usurper, who was crowned within a few days at Las Huelgas.² The rewards given to his chief supporters by the new sovereign were liberal, in two cases conspicuously so. Du Guesclin was invested with Enrique's own county of Trastamara and the ducal title³ ; Calveley with the lordship of Carrion and the title of count.⁴

The enjoyment of these distinctions was destined to be brief. Pedro, who had fled to Seville, and thence to Galicia, took ship to Bayonne, whence he besought the help of the Black Prince at Bordeaux.

To set a lawful sovereign, one under treaty with England, upon his throne again ; to try conclusions with the usurper's French supporters, were tempting considerations to Edward III.'s warlike son. His father's sanction obtained, the prince threw himself heart and soul into the business.⁵ Chandos recalled the English knights serving under Enrique, and Charles II. of Navarre, whose service in closing the pass of

¹ The deed has been published by Dom E. du Coëtlosquet in 'Chartes inédites tirées des archives de Borja [etc.] relatives à Du Guesclin et à ses compagnons d'armes' (*Revue historique de l'Ouest*, vi. 203 ; Nantes, 1891). 'Hugo de Cavarlay' is the eighth signature.

² For these see Catalina Garcia, work cited, i. 336 (note).

³ Some confusion exists as to Du Guesclin's titles. Already Count of Longueville in France, and of Borja (Aragon) in 1366, the dukedom of Molina probably dates from early in 1369, not 1371. The original deeds of donation of Molina and of Trastamara are lost ; what Morel-Fatio considers to be a confirmatory grant is dealt with by him in 'La donation du duché de Molina à Bertrand du Guesclin' (In *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, lx. 145, 1899).

⁴ Ayala says, 'Edio á Mosen Hugo de Caurelay, que era Inglés, á Carrion, é mandó que se llamase Conde de Carrion' (*Cronica del Rey don Pedro*, año diez e siete). Calveley's reward is not mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Catalina Garcia's list of 452 'Documentos expedidos por Don Enrique II.' contains several of 1366, but not that of the Carrion donation. Carrion, better known in Spanish history and romance as Carrión de los Condes, is in Old Castile, to the north of Palencia.

⁵ September 23, 1366, is the date of a treaty between the Black Prince, Pedro and Charles of Navarre against Enrique II.

Roncesvalles had been secured by that prince, was bribed in the opposite sense by his enemies.

When Calveley took leave of Enrique, the latter, according to Ayala, offered no resistance of any kind.

E Mosen Hugo de Caureley que era un caballero Inglés con quatrocientos de caballo de su Compañia que tenia consigo de Inglaterra, partió del rey Don Enrique e fuese para Navarra por quanto su señor el Principe de Gales venia de la otra parte, é non podia ser contra él. E el Rey don Enrique, como quier que sopo como el dicho Mosen Hugo partia dél, e le pudiera facer algun enojo, non lo quiso facer, teniendo que el dicho Caballero facia su debdo en se ir a servir a su señor el Principe que era fijo de su señor el Rey de Inglaterra.¹

And Froissart mentions no resistance, but it seems that the reverse was the fact. Chandos Herald says :

Car quant le Bastard scieust de verray
Qe le Prince sanz nul delay
Voilloit le roy daun Pedre eider
Moult leur purchacea dencombrer
Trencher lour fist les chimyns
Et toutz les soirs et les matyns
Maint embushee sur eux sailler
Et par maintes chemins assailler
Des geneteurs et dez villains . . .

With the onward march of events which found Calveley opposed to Enrique at the latter's defeat at Navarette (April 3, 1367) ; with the latter's consequent loss of his Castilian crown, and its recovery upon Pedro's murder at Montiel (March 22 or 23, 1369), we are not concerned, but will proceed to consider the problem of the seventeenth century Spanish version of the Count of Carrion's arms.

The shields here reproduced are woodcuts taken from Lopez de Haro's well known *Nobiliario genealogico de los Reyes y titulos de Espana*.²

They are respectively attributed to Calveley and Du Guesclin, who figure in the work in virtue of the appanages bestowed upon them by Enrique in 1366. The blazons given are :

En campo de oro rosas coloradas, banda azul y colorada, scaques de oro y negro.

En campo de oro un cabrio colorado con tres flores de Lis de oro y un aguila imperial.

That they are not the ancestral coats of either party need

¹ Cronica (cited), ano diez e ocho.

² Madrid, 1622, 2 vols. fol.

hardly be said. Sir Hugh was Calveley of Lea, a branch which separated from the main stock in the person of David his father, second son of Kenric de Calveley of Calveley; both branches bore *silver a fesse gules between three calves sable*; Sir Hugh died issueless upon the feast of Saint George, 1393, and was buried in Bunbury Church. His alabaster monument, in the chancel, is among the finest of its epoch in England.

The figure¹ in plate armour and camail of mail, with conical bascinet ornamented with a jewelled garland, has a surcoat charged with three calves. The fesse, at the waist-belt, still retains its tincture. In the sides of the substructure are pointed niches, above and between the heads of which are shields,² mutilated, and in only two cases retaining traces of painted arms. These shields, the first two upon the right of the recumbent figure, bear respectively the remains of a fesse and of a chevron—for Calveley and Knolles (?).³

The Herald 'Gelre,'⁴ a contemporary of Sir Hugh, in his *Wapenboek* assigns the fesse and calves to *b bu calverle*; and the same coat, with horses for calves, and the fesse sable, is ascribed to *Le s de calve* . . . in the fifteenth century '*Armorial de la Toison d'Or*.'

Sir Hugh's grand-nephew and namesake sealed (16 Ric. II.) with the same arms; on his own brother David's seal the fesse does not appear.

Du Guesclin's arms are equally well established.⁵ On

¹ Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, plate 99.

² There are twelve shields upon either side, and four at either end of the monument. An engraving in Ormerod's *Cheshire* shows them perfect and emblazoned.

³ Why should a brother's arms be depicted here? Sir Robert Knolles' identity with the Robert son of David de Calvylegh is surmised from an entail (35 Edw. III.) in which Robert 'de Knolles' figures as beneficiary after Sir Hugh and his brother David, of their mother Mabell de Calveley's manor of Lea. In a license (27, 28 Edw. III.) to 'Sir J. de Wengefeld, kt., to grant the manor of Lee to Mabel de Calvylegh and Henry de Newton, chaplain,' the remainders are to Hugh, David and Robert, sons of Richard de Calvylegh. Richard is 'evidently an error for David' (see Ormerod's *Cheshire*, 2 ed., by T. Helsby, ii. 764-9, 1882). This relationship is, by the way, ignored in Sir Conan Doyle's *White Company*.

⁴ 'Gelre a été en Aragon avec quelques Flamands qui prirent part aux luttes de Henri de Trastamare et de Pierre le Cruel' (Bouton's preface).

⁵ The arms attributed to the constable are D'argent à l'aigle à deux têtes, ou éployée, de sable, becquée et membrée de gueules, au bâton en bande de même brochant sur le tout.

December 27, 1367, he executed a deed promising to pay the Black Prince his ransom of 60,000 doubles gold. In the deed he is styled 'duc de Tristemare, comte de Longueville'; the seal, unfortunately without inscription, bears the double-headed eagle with a baston.¹

If the cheveron and fleurs de lys had been adopted by him on receiving the duchy of Trastamara, it is at least strange that eight months after the event which deprived him of it he should have abandoned those ensigns whilst retaining the title.

Piferrer, in his *Nobiliario de los Reyes y Señorios de España*, copies the blazon² given by Lopez de Haro with the remark: 'Armas bastante distantas de las que Ocariz señala a la casa paterna del espresado Beltran de Claquin.'

This closes the evidence we have been able to adduce as to whether or not the arms were borne by 'Carbolay' and 'Claquin.' In an age when right to arms rested upon use, not upon grant, it is difficult to find proof of the kind required in the case of Calveley, whose tenure of Carrion lasted some months less than a year. But even though incorrect, which we imagine them to be, it does not follow that they are wholly without foundation.³

From an artistic standpoint we think the bearings ascribed to Calveley somewhat extraordinary. The leaves between the rose-petals are unusually prominent, and their similarity to the bodies of bees is striking. Is it impossible that among the knights and squires who followed Enrique in Castile there was not one⁴ whose arms had by the seventeenth century out-lived those of the Count of Carrion?

A. VAN DE PUT.

¹ Douët d'Arçq, Collection de Sceaux, No. 197. Two others, including one of 1376, also bear the eagle and baston.

² And Rietstap (2 ed.) 'Carbolay!'

³ In the case of Du Guesclin, the record of his famous eagle had evidently endured.

⁴ For example, in the entourage of Calveley and Knolles there may have been a Beeston, of the neighbouring Cheshire family bearing *silver a bend between six bees sable*. Sir Hugh's cousin Katherine m. (1) Thomas Beeston who d. ante 25 Edw. III.; the latter's uncle was living 15, and d. ante 43 Edw. III., and his brother Henry (d. 18 Ric. II.) seals (34 Edw. III.) with a bend and label. Ormerod (to whom we are indebted for this and Calveley family data) illustrates this seal. We should imagine the bees are effaced. A fourteenth century seal in the British Museum, 'Sigillum henrici de beston,' has 'a bend between six (bees?).'

AN ANCESTRAL SCANDAL

I

SIR GEORGE HERVEY of Thurleigh, in the county of Bedford, knight, was a man of considerable position and importance in the early part of the sixteenth century. He was of an ancient family which had acquired the lands of Thurleigh by marriage with Joan Harman, an heiress. Sir George Hervey's uncle, Thomas, married the heiress of John Drury of Ickworth, co. Suffolk, and from him are descended the Herveys of Ickworth, from which family comes the Marquess of Bristol. Sir George Hervey was possessed of lands in several counties, among others in the counties of Bedford, Oxford, Hertford, Huntingdon and Buckingham. He served twice as sheriff for Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, was present at the siege of Tournay as well as of Théroutanne, and at the battle of the Spurs. He was knighted by Henry VIII. at his entrance to Tournay, and attended the king on the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

Sir George appears however to have been unfortunate in his domestic relations, and this is the point of my story. He had married Elizabeth the daughter and heir of John Stamford, whose family was of some antiquity and standing in Bedfordshire and the neighbouring counties. By her he had two children : a son Nicholas, and a daughter Elizabeth who married Sir Edward Wanton or Wauton (for the name is spelt in both ways), a member of the family of Wauton of Great Stoughton, Huntingdonshire, one of whom in later days married a sister of Oliver the Protector, sat on the court which tried Charles I. and ended his days in exile in Flanders.

But to return to Sir George Hervey. There were other attractions for him beside the Stamford heiress, a certain Margaret, the wife of a man called William Smart, and by this Margaret Smart (who from the depositions appears also to have been Sir George Hervey's cousin) he had an illegitimate son whose name was Gerard.

Sir George Hervey died in or about the year 1536, when it was found that he had left all his estates to his illegitimate son Gerard to the exclusion of his legitimate son and daughter.

Upon this George Wauton, son of Sir Edward Wauton (who was probably dead at the time), apparently took proceedings in behalf of his mother's rights. A bill in Chancery was filed, and on the part of Gerard Smart *alias* Hervey various interrogatories were administered with a view of finding out the exact rights of the case, how far Sir George Hervey was legally justified in the disposition of his estates and how far he was unduly influenced by Margaret Smart, the mother of his illegitimate son Gerard. The interrogatories were administered on the part of Gerard to such of Sir George's friends and dependants as seemed likely to know the real facts on 5 July, 1536, and are as follows (I modernize the spelling) :—

Imprimis, whether Sir Walter Luke Thomas Fitzhugh and . . . Colbeke were a counsel with the making of Sir George Hervey's will signed and sealed with his hand and seal.

Item, whether the paper drawn of the said last will were the hand of the said Colbeke and whether the interlining of the said paper was of the hand of the said Sir Walter.

Item whether the seal set to the said will and the hand wherewith the said will is signed be the hand and the seal of the said Sir George Hervey.

Item to what intent and use the said Sir George suffered a recovery of all his lands and by whose counsel the same was had and devised.

Item to what use the said Sir George Hervey made a feoffment of all his said lands to Sir William Parr, Sir William Paston and others, after the said record had and by whose counsel that was devised and done.

Item whether livery, seisin, and possession was delivered to whom and by whom according to the form and effect of the same deed in every one of the shires in which the said land lieth.

Item if the said Sir George at any time after the said will sealed and signed with his hand and seal did ever revoke the said will.

Item what you have heard at any time within a year before the death of the said Sir George what his mind and intent was concerning the disposition of all his lands and tenements.

The persons to whom these interrogatories were administered shall now come forward and speak for themselves. The first is Edmund Bray, knight, Lord Bray of Eaton, who says that he does not know—

whether that Sir Walter Luke or what other persons were 'accouncell' with Sir George Hervey for the making of the last will of the said Sir George. Nor knew not that the said Sir George did make and declare his last will by the persuasion of Margaret Smart the wife of William Smart or by whose persuasion else the said Sir George did declare and make his said last will of his lands and hereditaments : nor knew not any other thing concerning the last will of the said Sir George, but only that the said Sir George Hervey

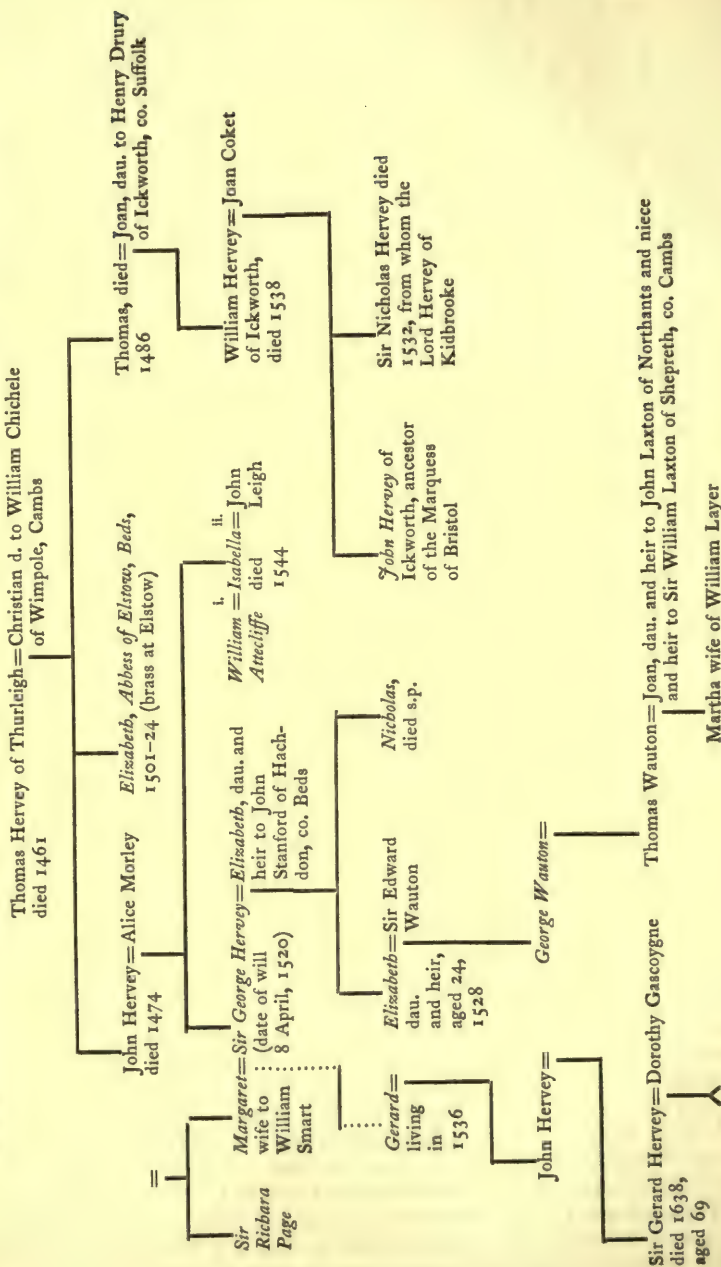
four or five days before his death as he was riding homeward from London, came to the place of this deponent called Eaton in Bedfordshire and continued there with this deponent one night, and anon after his coming thither, the said Sir George broke his mind to this deponent in this wise and effect following : Mr. Braye may I trust you to be my faithful friend in such thing as I shall put you in trust, and desire you to do for me. To whom this deponent answered, that he would do the best that lay in him to do ; and then the said Sir George shewed this deponent that he had been at London, and that he had made a recovery of his lands and other assurance as strong as his counsel could devise, to the intent that the said Gerard Harvey, whom he named then as his bastard son, should have and enjoy the same after his decease, and desired this deponent, that the said Gerard should and might have the good will and help of this deponent, whenever it should chance the said Sir George to die ; and further desired this deponent, that (whensoever this deponent was called or desired), this deponent should testify and declare that so was his last will and mind, and whether the said Sir George did afterwards revoke the said will or not this deponent knoweth not, but saith that the said Sir George died in four or five days after, and more this deponent knoweth not.

The next affidavit is that of Sir William Parr of Horton, Northamptonshire, knight, who says—

that he knew not of his own knowledge that the said Sir Walter Luke and Thomas Fitzhugh were ‘accounsell’ with the said Sir George in the making of his last will, but saith that the said Sir George divers times shewed to this deponent that the said Sir Walter and Thomas Fitzhugh were a-councell with him in the making of the said last will. And saith that the said will of the said Sir George, engrossed in parchment, and a little torn or rent at the setting on of the label, and signed with the hand of the said Sir George, ‘per me Georg Harvey’ and bearing date the year of our Lord God 1520 the 8th day of April . . . is sealed with red wax, the print whereof seemeth to be the print of a trefoil, and the print of the letters on the top of the said trefoil viz. H.N. being showed to this deponent, at the time of his examination, is (as this deponent thinketh on his conscience) the very last true will and mind of the said Sir George, and is sealed with the accustomed seal of the said Sir George, and as this deponent thinketh in his conscience, is signed and subscribed with the own very hand of the said Sir George, and saith that he and one John Hervey, executors named in the said will did approve the said will, and were sworn for the true performance of the same before the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and this deponent further saith that when he perceived that the said Sir George was minded to give away his inheritance from one Elizabeth the wife of Edward Wauton, which was supposed to be the daughter and heir of the said Sir George, this deponent persuaded and labored the said Sir George, before the marriage of the said Elizabeth, to be good to the said Elizabeth, and as this deponent and the said Sir George had familiar communication thereof, the said Sir George declared to this deponent, that the said Elizabeth was not the daughter of the said Sir George of his body begotten, and at that time showing likelihood to this deponent to be so, utterly refused to leave any of his inheritance to the said Elizabeth, but was always minded and determined at all times . . . that the said Gerard should have

PEDIGREE OF HERVEY

to illustrate to accompanying article. The names in italics are of persons named in the Chancery suit.



his said inheritance . . . and this deponent saith that about ten or twelve days before the death of the said Sir George, this deponent was eftsoones in hand again with the said Sir George, that he should be good unto Nicholas Hervey ; to whom the said Sir George answering this deponent, shewed of a displeasure that was grown between him and the said Nicholas, and said that he had given him a dash with a pen, and that he should never have groat of him, and this deponent saith also that he was present when the late Abbess of Elstow went unto the said Sir George instanted and moved the said Sir George to be good unto the said Elizabeth, whereunto the said Sir George utterly refused to do her any manner of good, saying that she was not his daughter : and saith that he knoweth not by whose persuasion the said Sir George made and declared his last will, nor knew not whether it were by the persuasion of the said Margaret Smart, nor knew not that the said Sir George did deliver his aforesaid will to the custody of the said Margaret Smart, nor knew not in whose custody the same was during the life time of the said Sir George . . . and saith that the said Sir George in his life time showed this deponent that he had made a feoffment to divers persons for the performance of his said last will, and for the more perfect assurance thereof, had suffered recoveries for the same, saying that if it was not sure the fault (as he said) was in his learned counsel.

Sir John Dyve of Bromham, in the county of Bedford, knight, is the next witness, and he says—

that he knew that the said Sir Walter Luke and Thomas Fitzhugh were ‘a counsuill’ with the said Sir George for the making of his will, and that he knew the same by the report of the said Sir George, and also was privy with the said Sir George in the making of the said will . . . and that about a month before the death of the said Sir George this deponent having familiar communication with the said Sir George upon his will, required of this deponent (as he did put this deponent in trust) that he should testify that the forenamed will was his very will, mind, and intent, and declared also of a displeasure that had grown between him and Nicholas Hervey, for the which he had stricken him out of his will . . . and declared and shewed to this deponent that Elizabeth the wife of the said Wauton was not the daughter of the said Sir George . . . and declared at all times that the said Gerard should have all his inheritance . . . and saith that he knew not by whose persuasion the said Sir George made his last will, nor knew not that he did the same by the persuasion of the said Margaret, but thinks that in the latter days of the said Sir George, the will was not in her custody . . . and the said Sir George always consisted that the said Gerald should have his inheritance aforesaid.

Sir Robert Lee of Quarrendon, in the county of Buckingham, knight, follows, and says—

that he knows nothing touching the making of the will of the said Sir George, but only by the report of the said Sir George, wherein the deponent saith that the said Sir George 6 or 7 years before his death, and divers times afterwards during his life, having communication with this deponent of the said Elizabeth, and of the said Gerard and of one that was supposed to be the son

of the said Sir George by his late wife, the said Sir George declared and shewed to this deponent, that the said son, and Elizabeth were not the children of the said Sir George, and this deponent by divers likelihoods that he hath heard and conceived therein, thinketh in his conscience that the mother of the said Elizabeth, and the said son, was very light of her conversation, and also saith that the said Sir George also declared and shewed to this deponent divers and sundry times, that the said Gerard should have his said inheritance . . . and required this deponent that the said Gerard might have married with the daughter of this deponent and offered this deponent the manor of Thurleigh and such other jointure as this deponent might reasonably require . . . and saith that he knoweth not of surety by whose persuasion the said Sir George made and declared the said last will, nor knew not that it was done by the procurement of the said Margaret Smart . . . and that he knoweth not that the said will was ever in the custody of the said Margaret, and said that at the time of the death of the said Sir George the said will was remaining at London in the keeping of a Doctor, and as this deponent thinketh named Dr. Atcliffe, which with one Barr being servant to the said Sir George immediately after his death fetched from the custody of the said Doctor.

William Barr, Sir George Hervey's servant mentioned in the foregoing affidavit, is the last witness brought on the scene, a yeoman of Thurleigh in the county of Bedford, and he says that—

he was servant with the said Sir George at the time of his death . . . and that about a month before the death of the said Sir George, as he was riding towards a place called Attleborough, the said Sir George called the deponent to him apart, and showed him that he had made a feoffment to the which he had enfeoffed certain persons . . . saying to this deponent words in effect following :—‘which will I have full finished under my hand and seale, and also I have given unto my cousin, Margaret Smart, my rent going out of Fleet Marston, and Blakgrove which is in value by year £10 6s. 8d. during her life, and after her death the remainder thereof shall go to her son Gerard, which Gerard I have made my heir of all my manors, lands, and tenements in the counties of Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford, and Oxford, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, and for default of such issue to remain to John Hervey and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten,’ showing at the same time of a displeasure that was grown between him and the said Nicholas Harvey, for the which he had stricken out the said Nicholas, so that the remainder of the premises for default of heirs male of the said Gerard, should immediately be and become to the said John : and in default of issue male of the said John the remainder thereof to remain to the wife of William Atcliffe sister to the said Sir George and to her heirs for ever. The said Sir George commanded this deponent that he should put him in remembrance to carry the said will with him to London at his next repairing thither, to the intent that he would show the same to Sir Richard Page, brother of the said Margaret, to the intent that the same Sir Richard should know what the said Sir George had done for the said Margaret and hers, and said if Mr. Page upon the sight of the said will should think that those men whom the same Sir George had put in trust for the performance of his said will were not meet for

the same, that then the said George would not put out one of the said men such as the said Mr. Page thought meet, and put the said Mr. Page in his place at his own pleasure . . . and that the same Sir George on his coming home from London, left the same will behind him locked in his coffer, standing in the house of one Richard Holt, draper, dwelling in Watling Street, the which will, this deponent, immediately after the death of the said Sir George, did fetch out of the said coffer and delivered the same to Sir William Parr one of the executors of the said will . . . and saith that he knoweth not by whose persuasion the said Sir George made and declared his last will, nor whether he made the same by the procurement of the said Margaret nor knew not for what consideration the said Sir George did with his inheritance from the said Elizabeth, unless it were because the said Sir George knew and reported that the said Elizabeth was not his daughter, but always said that the said Gerard should be his heir, and this deponent saith also that he being servant with the said Sir George was privy that he divers and sundry times counselled with Sir Walter Luke and Thomas Fitzhugh for the making of his said will . . . and that at such time as the said Sir George went beyond the sea with the King's grace he suffered recoveries of all his lands, as this deponent now thinketh to the performance of his said last will, and saith also that long time after the said recoveries, the said Sir George made a feoffment of all his lands and tenements to the said Sir John Dyve and others, to the performance of his last will, which feoffment was executed, and possessions delivered, according to the same in every shire wherein the land lay by the said Sir George in his own proper person.

Such are the outlines of the story, and the affidavits of the witnesses called by Gerard, Sir George Hervey's illegitimate son, in answer to George Wauton, who claims Sir George's estates, either for himself, as his mother's heir (if Elizabeth, Sir George Hervey's daughter, were dead at the time), or, if she were alive, in her behalf. Under the evidence of the affidavits, there could be but little doubt that Chancery would uphold the terms of the will. Sir George Hervey had gone through all necessary formalities to enable him to get full possession of his lands in fee simple, nor did it seem possible in face of the evidence (though one portion—that where Barr, Sir George's servant, states that Margaret Smart's brother, Sir Richard Page, was in Sir George Hervey's confidence—is a little suspicious) to allege undue influence. Morally we may be quite certain that the testator was the victim of a designing woman, though legal evidence to prove it was wanting, or at least insufficient, and therefore George Wauton's attempt to oust Gerard was unsuccessful. Though he failed in his claim, it must not therefore be considered that Nicholas and Elizabeth were proved to be illegitimate. The evidence on this point is more or less 'gossiping' hearsay evidence, nor does it appear that in Sir George Hervey's lifetime the question was ever raised

in any legal or formal manner—probably because it could not have been supported—nor was there any opportunity, when the question of succession to the estates was brought forward, of testing Sir George Hervey's statements as detailed by his friends and servant. Elizabeth, the wife of Sir Edward Wauton, though disinherited—was therefore legally—as she was no doubt in fact—the daughter and heir to Sir George Hervey, and her great-grandson, William Layer, in the pedigree of the Layer family of Shapreth, in Cambridgeshire, preserved in the College of Arms, quarters the armorial bearings of the family of Hervey which are still borne by his descendant, the writer of this article.

B. HALE WORTHAM.

A GENEALOGIST'S KALENDAR OF CHANCERY SUITS OF THE TIME OF CHARLES I.

DALLING *v.* HARRIS and others

D $\frac{1}{67}$ Bill (19 May 1645) of James Dalling *alias* Sandale *alias* Williams of Maidstone, co. Kent, 'threedmaker.'

Answer (21 May 1645) of John Harris, Arthur Harris and Edward Jewry (defendants with Mary Taylor).

Concerning the complainant's borrowings of the defendants and his mortgaging of his two messuages in Maidstone.

DOLMAN *v.* ORME

D $\frac{1}{68}$ Bill (4 Feb. 164 $\frac{1}{2}$) of Marmaduke Dolman of Duncoates, co. York, gent., complainant against Robert Orme and Frances his wife.

Concerning a lease of the moiety of the tithes of Bubwith made by the Dean and Chapter of St. . . . to the complainant and his two sons, . . . Dolman and Thomas Dolman, who are yet living, and concerning the extent of the parish of Bubwith.

EDMONDS *v.* HALLYWELL

E $\frac{1}{4}$ Bill (11 Feb. 164 $\frac{4}{5}$) of Richard Edmonds of St. Bride's, London, gent., and Jane his wife, relict and extrix. of Thomas Walker, citizen and haberdasher of London, deceased.

Answer (9 April 1647) of Richard Hallywell, formerly an apprentice of Thomas Walker.

Concerning the shop and business of Thomas Walker who died 1 Oct. 18 Eliz.

EDGESON *v.* PEISLEY

E $\frac{1}{4}$ Bill (24 April 1645) of John Edgeson, citizen and tyler and brick-layer of London.

Answer (3 May 1645) of Edmund Peisley of London, merchant, citizen and grocer.

Concerning the pulling down of the defendant's house in Half Moon Court in Whitechapel.

EDGAR *v.* SEAMAN

E $\frac{1}{8}$ Bill (16 April 1646) of Lionel Edgar of Ipswich, co. Suffolk, gent.
 Answer (5 May 1646) of Lionel Seaman, gent., an attorney of the Court
 of Common Pleas.

Concerning a bond of the compt. dated in Nov. 18 Jac. 1.

EASDOWNE *v.* HAYES and others

E $\frac{1}{4}$ Bill (15 Nov. 1631) of William Easdowne of Higham, co. Kent,
 yeoman, complainant against William Hayes of Cobham, yeoman, William
 Parsons of Milton, and Susan his wife, and Henry Nyn.

Concerning a sale of barley.

ELLIS *v.* WAINWRIGHT and others

E $\frac{1}{8}$ Bill (30 Nov. 1631) of George Ellis of Rawmarsh, co. York, rough
 mason, complainant against Thomas Wainwright of Wath, gent., Jane Ward
 (sister of Richard Ward), George Wainwright of Over Haw, Nicholas Wade,
 Margaret his wife and Thomas his son, of Melton, Gervase Nicholson and
 Elizabeth his wife, of Lanham, co. Notts.

Taking away of profits of four acres in Rawmarsh, bought by com-
 plainant's father, Richard Ellis of Rawmarsh, nailor, of one Richard
 Ward of Over Haw.

EMANS *v.* KEATE and others

E $\frac{1}{6}$ Bill (19 May 1631) of Anthony Emans of Henley-upon-Thames,
 co. Oxford, husbandman, complainant against John Keate of Stoke Stallmadge,
 co. Oxford, esquire, Christopher Petty and Dorothy his wife.

Concerning the complainant's title to a copyhold messuage and lands
 in the manor of Chekendon, held by the complainant's father and
 after his death by the complainant's mother, who died about ten years
 since. Leonard Keate of Chekendon, esquire, lord of the said manor,
 died and left the said Dorothy his widow, now wife of Christopher
 Petty of Tettisworth, gent. Leonard Keate had conveyed the inherit-
 ance of the manor to the said John Keate.

EVETTS and another *v.* HIGGINS

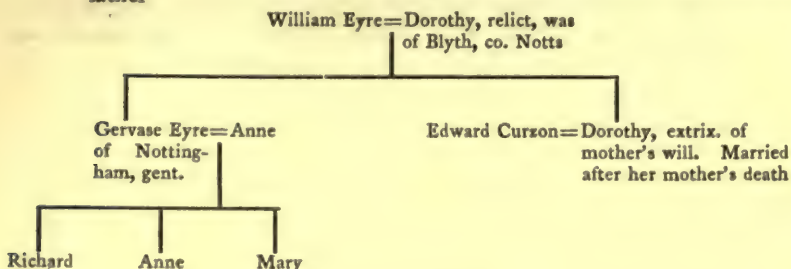
E $\frac{1}{7}$ Bill (16 Nov. 1631) of Thomas Evetts of Williamscott, co. Oxford,
 yeoman, and William Breedon of Chippingnorton, haberdasher, complainants
 against John Higgins of Chippingnorton, gent.

Concerning the complainants' purchase for 34*l.* 8*s.* of fourscore sheep,
 many of which proved unsound and rotten.

EYRE v. CURZON

E₁ Bill (15 Nov. 1631) of Gervase Eyre of Nottingham gent., complainant against Edward Curzon and Dorothy his wife.

Concerning the will dated 29 Jan. 4 Car. 1 of Dorothy Eyre of Blyth, widow, relict of William Eyre, the complainant's mother and father



EYLES v. GORING and others

E₁ Demurrer and answer (15 June 1632) of Sir William Goring, baronet, one of the defendants to the bill of Thomas Eyles.

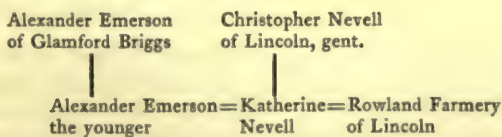
Concerning the lease of a messuage called *Labor in vaine*.

EMERSON v. NEVELL

E₁ Bill (10 Oct. 1632) of Alexander Emerson of Glamford Briggs, co. Lincoln, gent.

Answer (18 Oct. 1632) of Christopher Nevell of the city of Lincoln, gent.

Concerning the freehold of the moiety of the rectory of Goxhill, co. Lincoln, purchased about 20 years since by Alexander Emerson the elder, late of Glamford Briggs, deceased, of Sir John Stanhope, knight, and other purchases of the said Alexander, including a messuage and lands in Barton-upon-Humber, bought of Mr. Thompson, and the manor of Beningholme, co. York. Alexander Emerson the son and heir apparent of the said Alexander the elder, was, as the complainant alleges, about July, 1626, young and under age and of an easy and weak disposition. The said Alexander the son, by the sinister persuasions of the said Nevell, and 'by the alluring disposicion and cariage' of Katherine, dau. of the said Nevell, was drawn in to marry her, and that 'within two houres of the first motion thereof made.' This was at a time when young Alexander's father had sent for him to come from London to be bestowed in marriage with a gentlewoman of good parentage and portion. Young Alexander died soon after reaching full age, and his widow married Rowland Farmery of Lincoln. Alexander the father is also dead.



THE ANCESTOR

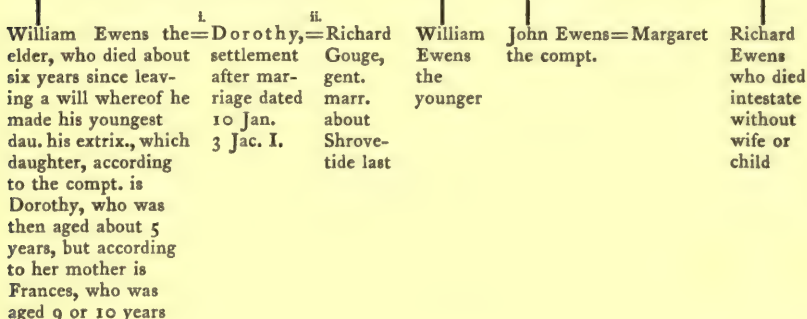
EWENS *v.* GOUGE and others

E₁₁¹ Bill (20 Oct. 1631) of John Ewens of Budcleigh, co. Somerset, yeoman.

Answer (8 Oct. 8 Car. 1) of Richard Gouge and Dorothy his wife, Dorothy Ewens and William Wykes.

Concerning a messuage and lands in Budcleigh, late of William Ewens the younger, a brother of the compt., whose father had several sons and daughters.

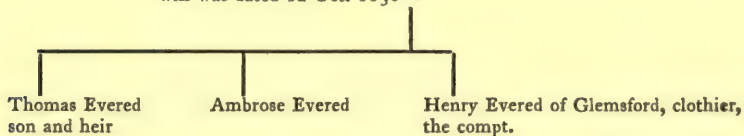
William Ewens of Budcleigh whose
wife Eleanor died before him

EVERED *v.* EVERED

E₁₂¹ Bill (8 Feb. 1644) of Henry Evered of Glemsford, co. Suffolk, clothier, compt. against Ambrose Evered and Thomas Evered.

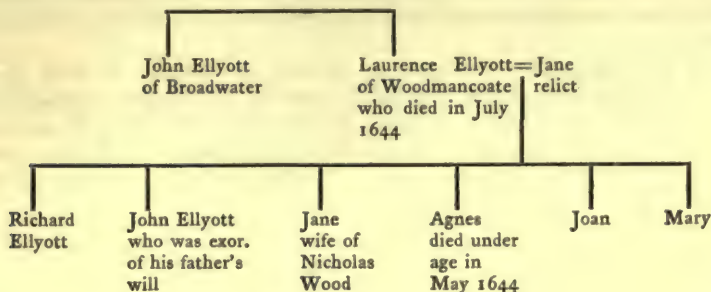
Concerning the will of the compt.'s father, which gave to the compt. a capital messuage and lands and Glemham, in consideration that the compt. had neglected his own affairs and served his father as a servant for 20 years.

Thomas Evered of Glemham whose
will was dated 12 Oct. 1636=

ELLYOTT and others *v.* STREATER

E₁₃¹ Bill (26 Nov. 1644) of Richard Ellyott of Woodmancoate, co. Sussex, husbandman, John Ellyott of Woodmancoate, husbandman, Nicholas Wood of Henfield, co. Sussex, yeoman, and Jane his wife, and Jane Ellyott of Woodmancoate, relict of Laurence Ellyott, late deceased, complainants against Richard Streater of Broadwater, yeoman.

Concerning the will, dated 24 Nov. 1635, of John Ellyott of Broadwater, deceased, of which the defendant was executor.



EAST *v.* KING

$E_{1\frac{1}{3}}$ Bill (4 Nov. 1644) of Henry East of Beconsfeild, co. Bucks, yeoman, complainant against Christopher King of Wooburne, co. Bucks, and Richard King of . . . , yeoman.

Concerning a loan made by the complainant.

AP EDWARD *v.* WILLIAMS

$E_{\frac{1}{6}}$ Bill (24 June 1628) of John ap Edward of Northop, co. Flint, and Mary his wife, daughter of Nicholas Kenricke, deceased.

Demurrer () of Ellice Williams of Argoed, co. Flint, gent.

Concerning a bond, dated in Dec. 1623, for the repayment of 32*l.*, which Thomas Parrie, gent., delivered to the said Nicholas Kenricke, who died before the payment thereof, leaving the said Mary his extrix.

EDWARDS *v.* EDWARDS

$E_{\frac{1}{6}}$ Bill (4 June 1628) of Judith Edwards, widow, relict and extrix. of Thomas Edwards of London, esquire, deceased.

Answer (26 June 1628) of William Catlyne of Rawnds, co. Northants, esquire, and (25 June 1628) of John Throckmorton.

Concerning a sum of 1,000*l.* alleged to have been borrowed by the defendant Catlyne of the complainant's late husband, 26 Nov. 14 Jac. 1. The defendant Throckmorton is the complainant's brother and was her husband's solicitor.

ELLIOTT *v.* VYLE and others

$E_{\frac{1}{7}}$ Bill (24 May 1628) of Robert Elliott of Southpetherton, co. Somt., yeoman.

Demurrer () of Matthew Vyle of Southpetherton, weaver (defendant with Robert Vyle of Southpetherton, George Downe of Chard, and Edith Gyles of Coker).

Concerning the sale of a stone colt. The defendants are described as all brothers and sisters.

ELLIS *v.* ELLIS and another

E $\frac{1}{18}$ Bill (26 Nov. 1632) of Robert Ellis of Nether Ham, co. Somerset, husbandman, complainant against Thomas Ellis and John Barker of Netherham, gent.

Concerning the will, dat. 24 March, 52 Elizab., of John Ellis of Netherham, yeoman, whereof his sons the compt. (then aged about 14) and Thomas Ellis were exors. He gave legacies to his wife and others. The compt. has since married Dorothy Bolsham, and William another son of John Ellis is named. Thomas Ellis the executor is dead, leaving a wife and children.

ELLISON *v.* SHAWE

E $\frac{1}{19}$ Bill (14 May 1632) of Thomas Ellison of Doncaster, co. York, butcher, complainant against Francis Shawe of Doncaster, butcher.
A partnership in buying and selling cattle.

EDWARDS *v.* AUSTEN

E $\frac{1}{20}$ Bill (15 May 1632) of John Edwards of Tenterden, co. Kent, gent. compt. against Stephen Austen and his wife Lucy.

Concerning a bond for a debt given by Gabriel Livesey, esq., now deceased, to the compt.

	i.	ii.
Thomas Henman of Maidstone	=	Lucy, relict and
an attorney of the Court of		extrix. of Thomas
Common Pleas		Henman a defendant

EMPSON *v.* GAYTHORNE and others

E $\frac{1}{21}$ Bill (24 Nov. 1632) of Bryan Empson of Gowle, co. York, compt. against Richard Bayley and Edward Bayley, both of Howke, William Gaythorne of Pollington, Thomas Empson and Anne Empson of Gowle, relict of William Empson.

Concerning a grant made about fifteen or sixteen years since by the compt.'s late father, Gregory Empson, to William Watkinson of Hembrough, Peter Jackson of Newland, Francis Empson of Gowle the elder, and Richard Bayley of Howke, of his farmhold in Gowle to the use of the compt., his second son and the heirs of his body, with remr. to John Empson the youngest son of Gregory. All the feoffees save Richard Bayley are now dead.

ELYOTT *v.* GRAUNT

E $\frac{1}{22}$ Bill (21 June 1632) of George Elyott of Godalminge, co. Surrey, gent., a cursor of the Court of Chancery, compt. against John Graunt, who formerly lived in Hampshire.

Concerning the assignment of a lease made about 14 years since by the compt.'s father, Thomas Elyott of Godalming, to John Garton (brother of Robert Garton) of a millhouse, two corn mills and one malt mill, all under one roof in Godalming. Robert Graunt is named.

EWER *v.* BAKER and others

E_{3/3} Bill (11 June 1632) of Elianor Ewer of St. Andrews Holborn, late wife and extrix. of Stephen Ewer, a soapboiler, deceased, compt. against James Baker, Basnett, William and Edward Buswell, Daniel Palmer, Robert Booth, Wade, Laurence Lee, John Lovett, Thomas Cotton, John Hammond, Henry Rowland, William Hulme, George Raymond and others unknown.

Concerning the business affairs and shop debts of Stephen Ewer.

BISHOP OF EXETER *v.* MANNATON and others

E_{3/4} Bill (5 June 1632) of Joseph, Bishop of Exeter, compt. against Ambrose Mannaton, of South Pederwyn, esquire, John Cloberie of Braston, co. Devon, esquire, and Robert Bennett of Tawton Episcopi, co. Devon, esquire.

Concerning the bishop's manor of Lawhitton in Cornwall.

AP EVAN *v.* JAMES

E_{3/6} Bill^r (10 Oct. 1632) of John ap Evan, citizen and girdler, of London, compt. against Richard James the younger, and Hugh James.

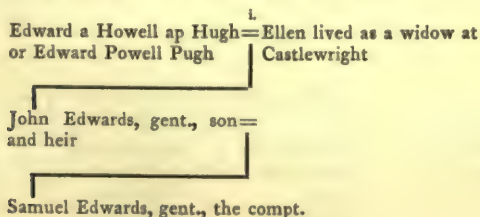
Concerning a piece of arable land in Blethvach, co. Radnor, which Rees Steephens of Knighton, co. Radnor, gent. (since deceased), and Lucy his wife, who were seised in the right of the said Lucy, conveyed to Richard James of Llanvair Watterden, co. Radnor, gent., father to the defendant Richard James, by their deed dated 20 Oct. 43 Eliz. After the death of her husband the said Lucy made a release to the said Richard James, dated 27 April, 2 Jac. I., which Richard conveyed the premises to the compt. in November of the same year. The defendant Hugh is brother to Richard James the father. The said Lucy is now wife of Robert ap Evan.

EDWARDS *v.* THOMAS

E_{3/6} Bill (19 May 1628) of Samuel Edwards of Castlewright, co. Montgomery, gent.

Answer (at Bishop's Castle 13 June 1628) of John Thomas of Bishop's Castle, co. Salop, and Margaret Thomas, widow, of Aston, his mother.

Concerning lands, etc., in Castlewright, Aston and Wellington, co. Montgomery. The defendants are son and relict of John Thomas, deceased. Margaret Thomas was formerly married to Edmund Owen of whose will dat. 9 Nov. 1594, she and John Owen were exors.



EDMONDS *v.* JEFFERY

E $\frac{1}{27}$ Bill (3 Feb. 163 $\frac{3}{4}$) of Francis Edmonds of Yaxton, co. Sussex, gent., compt. against Anthony Jeffery.

The compt. at the entreaty of the defendant became bound about 4 years since in a bond with Richard Jeffery, son of the said Anthony, unto one Lewis Goodgier in a bond of 800*l.* for payment of 400*l.*

ESSEX *v.* GLOVER and others

E $\frac{1}{28}$ Bill (8 Feb. 163 $\frac{3}{4}$) of Sir William Essex, baronet, compt. against Roger Glover of Blackfriars in London, Joce Glover (his son and heir apparent), John Glover, another son, and Anne Pike of the Strand, widow.

Concerning the purchase by the said Roger Glover from the compt. of the manors of Shreevenham Stalpitts and Beawcott, *alias* Beacott, in Berkshire, and the alleged theft by the Glovers of an indenture which the compt. left behind him after dining in the house of the said Anne Pike, at the time of the great sickness in London, some eight years since.

ELLOND *v.* SHEPPARD

E $\frac{1}{29}$ Bill () of Samuel Ellond of Strowdwater, co. Glouc., tucker.

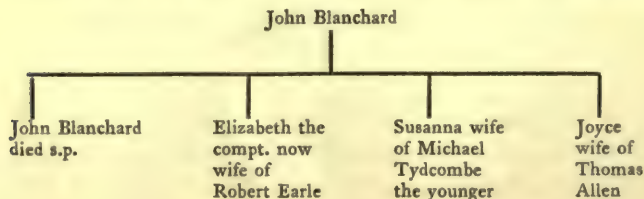
¶ Plea and demurrer (25 and 26 Nov. 1633) of William Sheppard of Old Horseley, co. Glouc., esquire, John Sheppard and Samuel Sheppard, gentlemen (defendants with William Fletcher, Richard Warpman, Henry Chapman, Robert Bull, John Sweeper and Thomas Powell).

Concerning the will of William Bennett of Cublay, co. Glouc., clothier, who is said to have died indebted to the compt. The three defendants demurring are brothers, and were kinsman and exors. of the said Bennett.

EARLE *v.* TYDCOMBE and others

E $\frac{1}{30}$ Answer () of Susanna Tydcombe, wife of Michael Tydcombe the younger, gent., a defendant (with Thomas Allen and Joyce his wife) to the bill of Robert Earle and Elizabeth his wife, the compts.

Concerning the estate of John Blanchard, father to this defendant.



EVANS *v.* JOHNSON

E $\frac{1}{31}$ Bill (8 July 1633) of William Evans of Woodbridge, co. Suffolk, yeoman, and Freegift his wife, late wife of Thomas Stevens of Woodbridge, apothecary, compts. against Thomas Johnson of Ardly, yeoman.

Concerning a message and lands at Ardly in Essex, formerly of the said Thomas Stevens. The said Thomas made a will in Nov. 1623, having five small children by the said Freegift.

EASTOFTE and another *v.* MOYSIER

E $\frac{1}{32}$ Bill (13 July 1641) of Thomas Eastofte of Eastofte, co. York, esquire, and Thomas Boynton of Roccliff, gent.

Answer (8 Nov. 1641) of Thomas Moysier of Appleton, esquire.

Concerning the manor of Lockington, called the Hallgarth manor, with lands in Lockington, Beverley, Lund and Sculcottes, which Robert Stockdale of Lockington, esq., by his indenture 7 June 36 Eliza. is said to have conveyed to the use of himself and his heirs male of his body, with remr. to John Eastofte, esq., deceased, late father of the compt. Thomas Eastofte, with remr. to the said Thomas Eastofte and his heirs. Robert Stockdale died without issue and John Eastofte became seised, and made a lease 19 March 13 Car. I. to the compt., his son, for eleven years. At the death of John Eastofte, the compt. Thomas Eastofte became seised about two years since, and made a lease 11 June 15 Car. I. to Thomas Boynton, esq. The defendant alleged that there was no consideration for Stockdale's conveyance, for that Robert Stockdale on 2 June 36 Eliza. was a lunatic, and was cozened of part of his estate. He also claims to have been found cousin and next heir of Robert Stockdale, whose wife Elizabeth is named.

ENGLEFEILD *v.* WHITE

E $\frac{1}{33}$ Bill (5 Feb. 163 $\frac{2}{3}$) of Sir Francis Englefeild of Wootton Bassett, co. Wilts, baronet.

Answer (at Alford, co. Lincoln, 8 April 1630) of Richard White, gent., son of George White, deceased.

Concerning the site and demesne lands of the dissolved priory of Markbie, co. Lincoln.

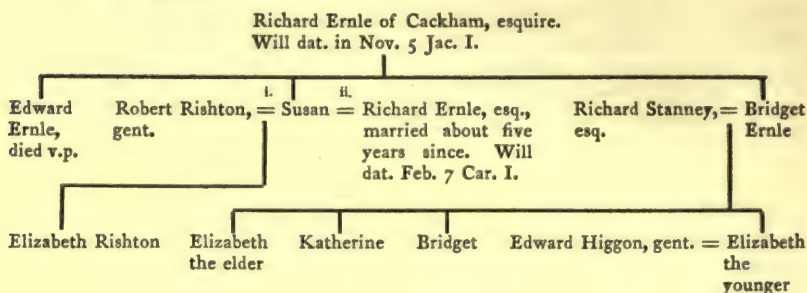
ERNLE and others *v.* STANNEY and others

E $\frac{1}{34}$ Bill (19 June 1632) of Susan Ernle of Cackham, co. Sussex, widow, John Cooke of Westburton, gent., Edmund Southcott of Chichester, surgeon, and Elizabeth Rishton, one of the daughters of Robert Rishton, gent., deceased, the late husband of the said Susan.

Answer (24 Oct. 1632) of Bridgett Stanney, widow, relict of Richard Stanney, esquire, deceased, and (. . . 1632) of Katherine Stanney, Bridget Stanney the younger, Edward Higgons and Elizabeth his wife, and (24 Oct. 1632) of Henry Graye, yeoman.

THE ANCESTOR

Concerning Richard Ernle of Cackham, esq., deceased, and his farm of Cackham.

EDLYN *v.* EDLYN

E $\frac{1}{35}$ Bill (22 Feb. 164 $\frac{2}{7}$) of John Edlyn of London, boxmaker.

Answer (17 Feb. 164 $\frac{2}{7}$) of Anne Edlin, defendant to the bill of complaint of John Edlin.

Concerning the will of Richard Edlin, deceased, whereof defendant is extrix. The will was made about nine years since. The complainant is son to the defendant and the said Richard the testator. The defendant is persuaded that the said bill in the name of the said John Edlin is exhibited against her by William Edlin her son, brother to the said John, out of revenge for this defendant suing him for a debt of 70*l.* The said John Edlin about four years since went a soldier in the king's service and was, as the defendant hath been informed, slain at the battle about York.

EDWARDS *v.* VANDERMARSHE

E $\frac{1}{36}$ Bill (2 June 1646) of Andrew Edwards, citizen and bodicemaker, of London.

Answer (8 June 1646) of Peter Vandermarshe of London, merchant.

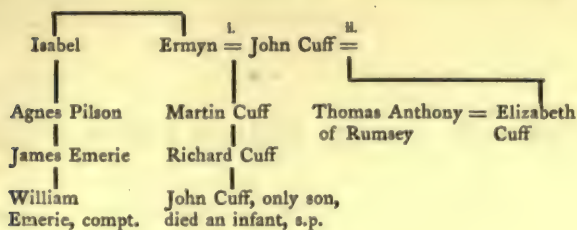
Concerning the purchase by the compt. of a parcel of 'whalefins.'

EMERIE *v.* HAMMOND and others

E $\frac{1}{37}$ Bill () of William Emerie of Cottesfeild, co. Southampton, husbandman.

Answer (22 Jan. 164 $\frac{2}{7}$) of Nicholas Hammond and Alice Maile, widow, relict of Robert Maile (defendants with Thomas Anthony and Elizabeth his wife and John Maile).

Concerning a copyhold messuage and lands of the manor of Cattisfeild, whereof John Cuff and Ermyrn his wife were seised. The following pedigree is produced by the compt., who states that he is next heir to Ermyrn :—

ELLIS *v.* GODFREY

E_{8/8}¹ Demurrer () of Henry Godfrey, gent., to the bill of Humphrey Ellis.

Concerning certain dealings in malt, the complainant being a factor for divers maltsters in London.

EMMETT *v.* EMMETT

E_{8/6}¹ Bill (29 Jan. 164 $\frac{2}{3}$) of John Emmett, younger son of William Emmett, late of Portsea, co. Southampton, yeoman, deceased.

Answer (13 July 1646) of William Emmett, son and heir of the said William.

Concerning the will, dated 30 Nov. 19 Car. I. of the complainant's father, giving to the compt. his copyhold messuage and lands which he had purchased in the manor of Frodington in Portsea.

ELWES *v.* MORLEY

E_{4/6}¹ Demurrer and answer (17 Feb. 164 $\frac{2}{3}$) of Elizabeth Morley, widow, to the bill of Jeremy Elwes.

Concerning an alleged conveyance of lands to this defendant's late husband James Morley, sometime one of the six clerks of the Court of Chancery. She names a settlement made for the advancement of Cuthbert Morley in marriage with Jane, one of the daughters of Thomas, Lord Viscount Fairefaxe of Emeley.

NOTES ON SOME DURHAM FAMILIES

THE following notes supplement the pedigrees and notices in the late Mr. Surtees' *History of the County Palatine* of some families in the parishes of Dalton-le-Dale, Bishop Wearmouth and Houghton-le-Spring.

DALE OF DALTON AND TUNSTALL

The pedigree of the Dales of Tunstall in Surtees, like that afterwards published by Burke, begins with the marriage of Edward Dale in 1672, although there are scattered references to earlier Dales in other parts of his *History*. The following is an outline pedigree of the earlier Dales:—

John Daile of Dalton *testis in curia*,
1490 (Surtees, vol. 1, p. 2)
Anthony Dale occurs 1536 (Surtees,
vol. 1, p. 2)
Edward Dale, tenant of Dalton,=
1539 (*Rentale Bursarii Dunelm.* p. 312
in Surtees Soc. vol. 58)

George Dale, tenant of Dalton,=
1580 (*Survey of Cathedral Lands*,
p. 218 in Surtees Soc. vol. 82).
Died intestate. Inventory of goods,
4 Nov. 1611. At Durham, 23 Nov.
1611, administration of the goods
of 'George Daill of the parish of
Dalton Co^y Durham' was granted
to 'Edward Daill the son of the
Intestate for his use and benefit
and that of Robert Daill and Allis-
sone Holme wife of Adam Holme
the son and daughter also of the
Intestate'

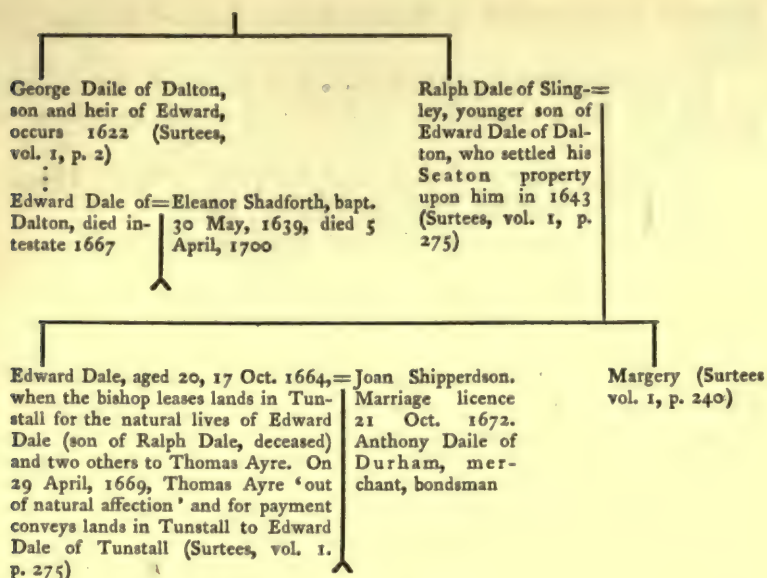
Alison Dale (*Vis*—Adam Blaykeston
itation of Durbam of Seaton (*Inq.*
1615, *Harl. MS.* p.m. 20 Eliz.)
1540 *fo. 111b* and
Harl. MS. 1168
fo. 36b)

Edward Daile of Dalton=
occurs 1622 (Surtees,
vol. 1, p. 2), acquired a
tenement in Seaton in
1615 (Surtees, vol. 1,
p. 275)

Robert Dale

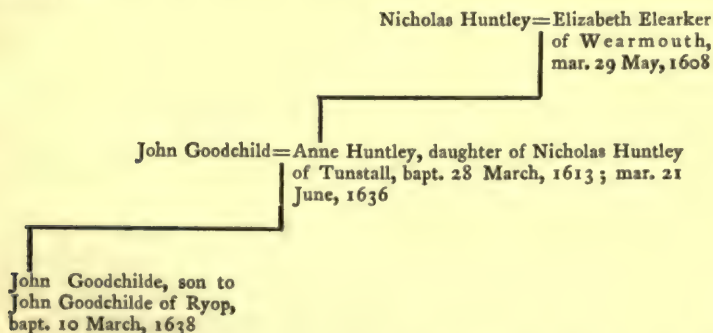
Alison=Adam Holme
of Wearmouth

NOTES ON SOME DURHAM FAMILIES 93



GOODCHILD OF PALLION

In the otherwise perfect record in Surtees of the marriages of the owners of Pallion in lineal descent the maiden name of the wife of the third owner is missing. Entries in the parish register of Bishop Wearmouth supply this omission as follows:—



The last male descendant of the Pallion family in the direct line was Laurence Goodchild (born 1 Dec. 1813, died in Newcastle, 21 March, 1881), author of *Warkworth, The Rebel's Wooing*, etc. He was the third son of the last John Goodchild of Pallion. A short biography by Mr. John Robinson, with

portrait, has appeared in the *Sunderland Library Circular* (July, 1900).

It appears from family papers that three of the daughters of the last John Goodchild of Pallion married as follows and left issue:—

- (i) Margaret married Joseph Simpson of West House.
- (ii) Anne married William Mordy, M.D.
- (iii) Caroline married William Haslewood, M.D.

HOLME OF WEARMOUTH

Mr. Surtees gives a meagre account of the descendants of Adam Holme of Bishop Wearmouth, but says nothing of his ancestors. There are three pedigrees of the earlier Holmes: in the *Visitation of Yorksbire*, 1563 and 1564, printed by the Harleian Society; in the *Visitations of Cambridgeshire*, 1575 and 1619, also printed by the Harleian Society; and in Harleian MS. 1540, f. 45. The pedigree in the *Yorksbiere Visitation* ends one generation earlier than the Harleian MS.; the pedigree in the *Cambridgeshire Visitations* begins two generations later. The three pedigrees agree exactly with regard to the succession and Christian names of the early Holmes of Wearmouth as given below, but the record of their marriages is, as will be seen, by no means clear.

Robert Holme, third son of John Holme of Holme Hall, Lancashire, 'came into the Boshopryke of Durram' and married, according to the *Yorksbiere Visitation* pedigree, 'Anne doughter to Sir Arthur Myddelton of Sylkesworth in the Boshopryke aforesaid.' (No Arthur occurs in the pedigrees of the Middletons of Silksworth. Probably either Sir John Middleton of Belsay and Silksworth or Thomas Middleton of Silksworth is meant.)

Robert Holme, son of Robert (second son, according to the Harleian MS., which states that an elder son, John, not mentioned in either of the visitation pedigrees, 'dyled before hee cam to full age'), described in all three pedigrees as 'of Warmouth,' married a Hedworth—'Margaret, doughter to John Hedworth,' according to the *Yorksbiere Visitation* pedigree; 'Mary, dr. of S^r Raffe Hedworth, knight,' according to the *Cambridgeshire Visitation* pedigree. The Chancery enrolments in the Durham Records include an action brought against Robert Holme of Bishop Wearmouth by William Cornforth

NOTES ON SOME DURHAM FAMILIES 95

and Alice his wife (undated, in Roll No. iii of Laurence Booth, Bishop of Durham, 1457-76). Robert Holme was succeeded at Wearmouth by his elder son,

Raffe Holme, who married, according to the *Yorksbiŕe Visitation* pedigree, a 'Grey of Horton Graunge.' According to the *Cambridgesbiŕe Visitation* pedigree he married 'Margarett, d. of . . . Raye.'¹ If the latter is the correct account of his marriage, his wife may have belonged to the same family as the 'William Rey of Pontiland,' of a later generation, who occurs (1587) in one of the Durham wills printed by the Surtees Society (vol. 38, p. 300). Raffe Holme was succeeded at Wearmouth by his 'son and heyre,'

William Holme, whose wife's name is left blank in the pedigrees. He was succeeded at Wearmouth by his elder son,

Adam Holme, who married (see Dale pedigree *supra*) Alice, daughter of George Dale of Dalton. His will, in which he desires burial under the 'brood stone' at the south porch door at Bishop Wearmouth, and makes his wife his residuary legatee, was proved at Durham 16 Jan. 1618. 'Alice Holmes (*sic*) of this towne widow' was buried at Bishop Wearmouth 'An^o Doi 1634 October 21.'

It appears from entries in the parish register that there were at least five children of this marriage:—

- (i) Ralph—Bapt. 7 Feb. 159³/₈; mentioned in his father's will; married 22 Nov. 1620 to Anne Sheperdson.
- (ii) George—Bapt. 1 Oct. 1598; acquired a tenement at Ryhope under his father's will.
- (iii) Frances—Bapt. 20 June, 1587; married 22 Nov. 1608 to Robert Goodchild.
- (iv) Bridget—Bapt. 10 Nov. 1588.
- (v) Annas—Bapt. 23 Nov. 1590; mentioned in her father's will; married 31 Jan. 162¹/₂ to Christopher Sheperdson.

Alice Holme, buried at Bishop Wearmouth 4 April, 1595, was probably another child of Adam and Alice Holme.

LAURENCE OF BISHOP WEARMOUTH

The following is a pedigree (partly compiled from family papers) of the family of John Laurence, the well known rector of Bishop Wearmouth. Mr. Surtees gives a short biography of him, and there is another (with some inaccurate

¹ *Harl. MS.* 1540 has 'Margarett d. of Ray of Horton Grange.'

dates) in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. An engraving of his portrait by Vertue is mentioned in Horace Walpole's list of Vertue's works.

John Lawrence (*sic*). Adm. Emmanuel Coll.=Elizabeth, living Cambridge, 6 June, 1650, then described only as a native of Bedfordshire, B.A. 1653. (Rector of Gretham, co. Lincoln; John Laurence, clerk, compounded for the firstfruits of that rectory 8 Feb. 1654). Vicar of St. Martin's, Stamford Baron; instituted 4 Oct. 1666. Signs the register first at Lady Day, 1664. Prebend of Sutton-in-the-Marsh, Cath. Linc.; installed 16 Sept. 1668 (Browne Willis' *Cathedrals*, Lincoln, p. 250). His successor at St. Martin's was instituted 26 Sept. 1700, 'upon the death of Jno. Lawrence.' Will, dated 10 May, 1700, proved at Lincoln 15 June, 1710

10 May, 1700

John Laurence, bapt. 27 Oct. 1668.=Mary Godwin (or Goodwin) died at Bishop Wearmouth in 1746. Will, dated 26 Nov. 1736, proved at Durham 23 April, 1747

Adm. Clare Hall, Cambridge, 20 May, 1685. M.A. and Fellow of Clare, 1692. Rector of Yelvertoft, co. Northampton; instituted 20 May, 1700. Rector of Bishop Wearmouth, 1721. Prebendary of Salisbury. Will, dated 17 Sept. 1731, proved at Durham 21 July, 1732. Author. See *Dictionary of National Biography*

Edward, bapt. 21 Oct. 1674. Author. See *Dictionary of National Biography*

Mary, bapt. 25 Oct. 1671

Hannah, living a minor 25 Aug. 1699

Charles, bapt. 15 Aug. 1677. Adm. Clare Hall 6 Oct. 1696. Rector of Stoke Day, Rutland; instituted 11 June, 1755. Married and had issue. Died at Holyoke 5 June, 1766

Mary } died
— } in
Anne } childhood

John Laurence, only son. Rector of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, and of High Rooding, Essex. Married (1) a daughter of a London publisher or bookseller, by whom he had one child, Gerald, senior Capt. 57th Foot, 1779, left army in 1780, who married but died s.p.; (2) Rebecca, only daughter of Cornelius Manley, died s.p. (cf. pedigree of Manley of Manley Hall in Burke). Died 9 April, 1791, in his eighty-sixth year (see obituary notice in *Gentleman's Magazine*). Will, dated 10 June, 1790, proved 19 April, 1791

Elizabeth, bapt. at Yelvertoft 30 Dec. 1703 (see Goodchild pedigree in Surtees)

Penelope (see Pemberton pedigree in Surtees)

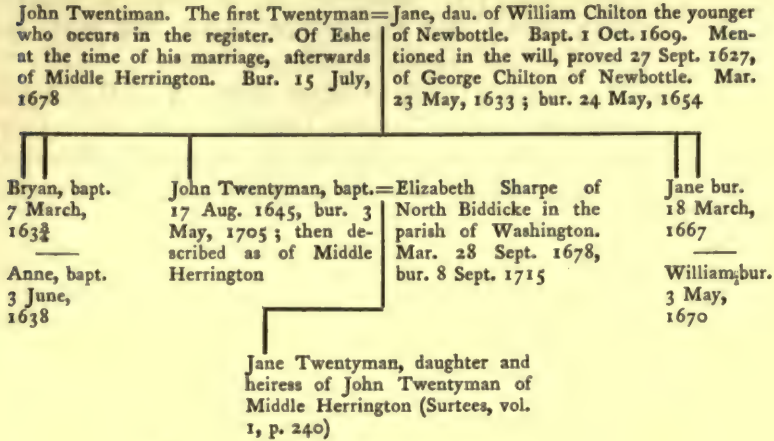
Eleanor (see Dale pedigree in Surtees)

TWENTYMAN OF MIDDLE HERRINGTON

Mr. Surtees records a grant by Michael Watson and Dorothy his wife of lands in Middle Herrington to John Twentyman in 1652 and the marriage of Jane Twentyman

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in 1696. The following short pedigree is derived from entries in the parish register of Houghton-le-Spring:—



JACKSON OF WEST RAINTON

Mr. Surtees records the marriage of Philip Jackson, his purchase of West Rainton Hall from the Earl of Strathmore, and his death. Before his marriage Philip Jackson lived in Essex, where he owned lands in Leyton and Walthamstow. Philip Jackson (born 23 May N.S. 1715, died at West Rainton Hall 10 Oct. 1792) married Penelope Laurence, daughter of John Goodchild of Pallion (born 15 May, 1734; married 23 June, 1757; died at Houghton-le-Spring 5 Aug. 1830). It appears from family papers that there were nine children of their marriage:—

- (i) John Jackson (born in Great Ormond Street, London, 1 July, 1758) of Hill House, Walthamstow, married (4 Sept. 1783) Sarah (born 6 July, 1764), daughter of George Vaughan of the parish of Christ Church, Blackfriars. He died at Ramsgate 17 March, 1828. His widow died 28 June, 1850. There were fourteen children of this marriage, of whom five married and left issue. Mr. Arthur Laurence Jackson, Barby Lodge, Lillington, great-grandson of John Jackson, now represents the Jackson family.
- (ii) Elizabeth Jackson (born at Shincliffe, co. Durham, 26 April, 1760) married (29 March, 1784) Gilbert

- Slater. Died . . . Jan. 1797: From her marriage the family of Sclater of Newick Park, Sussex, are descended (cf. pedigree of Sclater in Burke, which states that the family name has been restored to the original spelling—Sclater).
- (iii) Philip Jackson (born at West Rainton Hall 4 April, 1762) of Russell Square, London, married (2 July, 1799) Catherine, daughter of Thomas Williams of Ewell, Epsom. Died *s.p.* at Brighton in August, 1827.
 - (iv) Penelope Jackson (born at West Rainton Hall 30 July, 1765) married (11 Oct. 1793) Benjamin Dunn. Died at Houghton-le-Spring 20 Jan. 1837, leaving issue.
 - (v) James Jackson (born at West Rainton Hall 6 Oct. 1767), some time of Little Eppleton (otherwise called Eppleton Field House), co. Durham. Captain of East India ship *Carnatic*. Married (18 Jan. 1796) Harriot Goodchild. Died at 'Little Eppleton,' Newport, Barnstaple, 11 Jan. 1866, in his ninety-ninth year, leaving issue.
 - (vi) William Jackson (born at West Rainton Hall 27 Jan. 1769) of Lincoln Coll. Oxford (cf. Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*), rector of Pitsford. Married (12 Nov. 1799) Harriett, daughter of Thomas Williams of Ewell, and had issue.
 - (vii) Frances Isabella Jackson (born at West Rainton Hall 21 Nov. 1770). Died 20 Aug. 1781.
 - (viii) Maria Jane Jackson (born at West Rainton Hall 5 July, 1772) married (31 Oct. 1805) Charles Williams, son of Thomas Williams of Ewell, rector of Barby. Died at Barby, leaving issue.
 - (ix) Wildy Thomas Jackson (born at West Rainton Hall 7 March, 1775). Died unmarried 4 June, 1795.

G. B.

PICTURES OF ENGLISH DRESS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE pictures which follow are from the pen drawings which adorn a very precious manuscript once in the library of the Abbey of St. Albans and now in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, in which collection it is numbered as *Nero D. i.* They accompany the history by Matthew Paris of the lives of the two Offas. Matthew Paris, the most famous annalist of his time, succeeded Roger of Wendover as historiographer at St. Albans after the death of Roger in 1236. Sir Frederick Madden was of opinion that these lives were written by Matthew with his own hand. If this indeed be the case, it is hardly possible to doubt that in the first six of these pictures we have also the handiwork of this famous man. The first picture is full of written scrolls worked into the composition, and these scrolls are in the hand which wrote the text of the manuscript. The lion shield of the fifth picture enables us to connect with all assurance the writer of this manuscript of the Offas with the maker of the first collections of English arms, which collections are now bound up with this very manuscript, and with the painter of the shields of arms which decorate the border of the great MS. of the *Historia Minor* of Matthew Paris. By these things it would seem possible to give an illustrious name to the pioneer of the study of English armory. The objections to this attribution have been set forth at length by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy,¹ and some of them are weighty evidence against a belief in which one would gladly be confirmed. Chief amongst these objections is the kneeling figure of a monk in the Royal MS. (14 C. vii.), which seems to be another drawing by the same artist. Over this figure is written in contemporary lettering the name of Matthew Paris. But Matthew ever wrote his name *Matheus*, and here we have the name written first as *Matbias* and altered by the writer to *Matbius*, and, as Sir Thomas Hardy has justly

¹ *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1871.

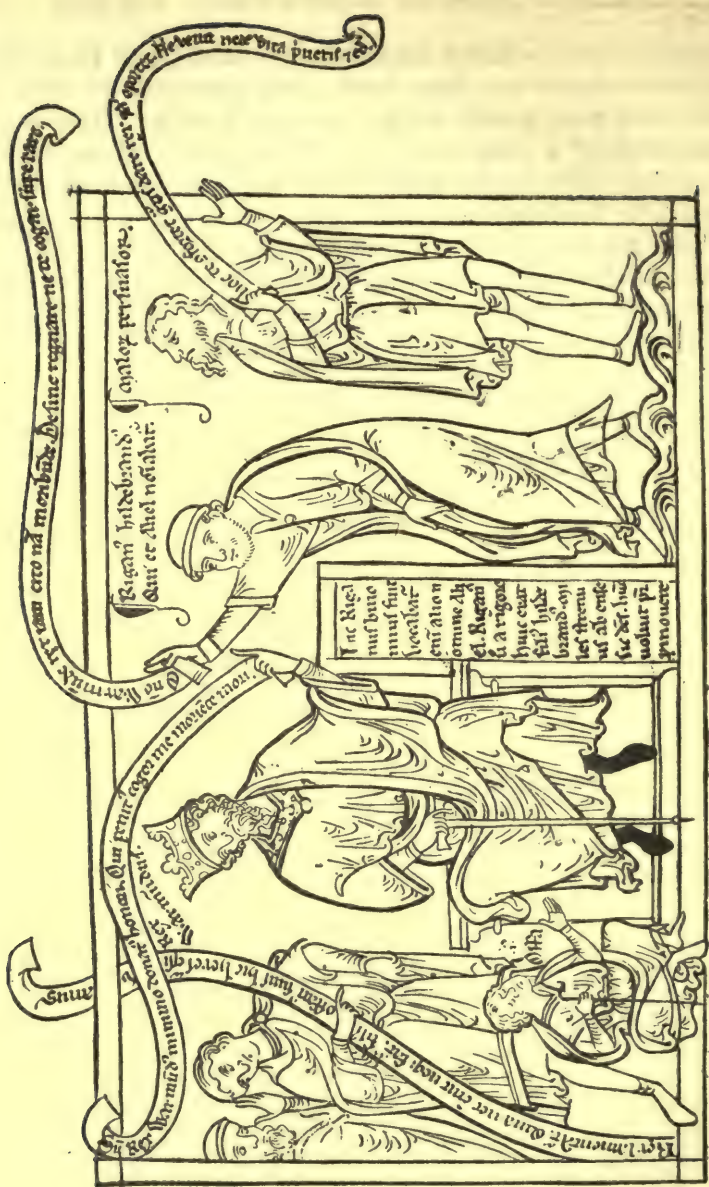
remarked, it is difficult to believe that Matthew would not only mis-spell his own name, but would correct one blunder with a second. In the MS. of the *Historia Anglorum*, and in three other MSS., we have books in this familiar handwriting; and the same hand, recording in each the gift of the book to God and the church of St. Alban, asks a prayer for the soul of brother Matthew, a form which would not be used were the said Matthew then living. We are forced then to ascribe these pictures to a date after the death of Matthew, which befel during the abbacy of John of Hertford and between the years 1253 and 1259. But handwriting and costume both point to a date at the least immediately following this. The plates from the seventh onward are certainly later than the first six, although few years can have come between the two sets.

English dress is at this period of the most simple. Kings, lords, churchmen and men of condition wear long gowns to the feet, ornamented for great folk with orphreys or bands of embroidery at the neck, which is cut somewhat low. The first series shows a fashion of sleeve with wide ends cut off at the mid-forearm, and showing the tight sleeve of a smock or other garment below. The same wide sleeve is worn in the seventh plate, which, it is possible, may be the work of a third and intermediate hand, for its penwork and line differ from those before and after it. After this seventh plate the loose-ended uppersleeve and under sleeve disappear, and all sleeves end tightly at the wrist. The upper halves of sleeves are always cut widely, with curiously large armholes reaching in some cases almost to the waist. Over this gown is worn an ample cloak, which sometimes bears a hood, fastened at the neck with a brooch or band. The dress of the common folk and of men of rank when actively employed is a like gown or coat ending at the knee, with which is worn a shorter cloak also to the knee. The belts or girdles which gird the coats and gowns at the knee appear as plain thongs with no beginnings of the rich buckles and heavy bosses which were soon to come into fashion. A variety of caps, hats, hoods and coifs will be noted. The hood covering head and neck is not shown as worn over the head except in the case of the humbler folk. The shoes and low boots are simple and very slightly pointed. Comment upon the arms and armour will be found under each picture containing them. The common headgear in war

THIRTEENTH CENTURY DRESS 101

is the mail coif. Barrel helms are also worn, and there are in the earlier series two most interesting examples of iron caps fitted with nose guards of the ancient fashion. The strange appearance of a plate vizor worn before a coif of mail will be remarked. Beside the head pieces no plates appear beyond greaves or bainbergs and small knee-caps. The arms of the knights are long lances plain at the grip, and long and heavy one-handed swords. The ordinary dress of the churchmen is the same as that of the laymen, but their curious caps will be observed.

THE LIVES OF THE TWO OFFAS



...et deus pueri...

...et deus pueri...

...et deus pueri...

...et deus pueri...

...et deus pueri...

...et deus pueri...

...et deus pueri...

...et deus pueri...

...et deus pueri...

...et deus pueri...

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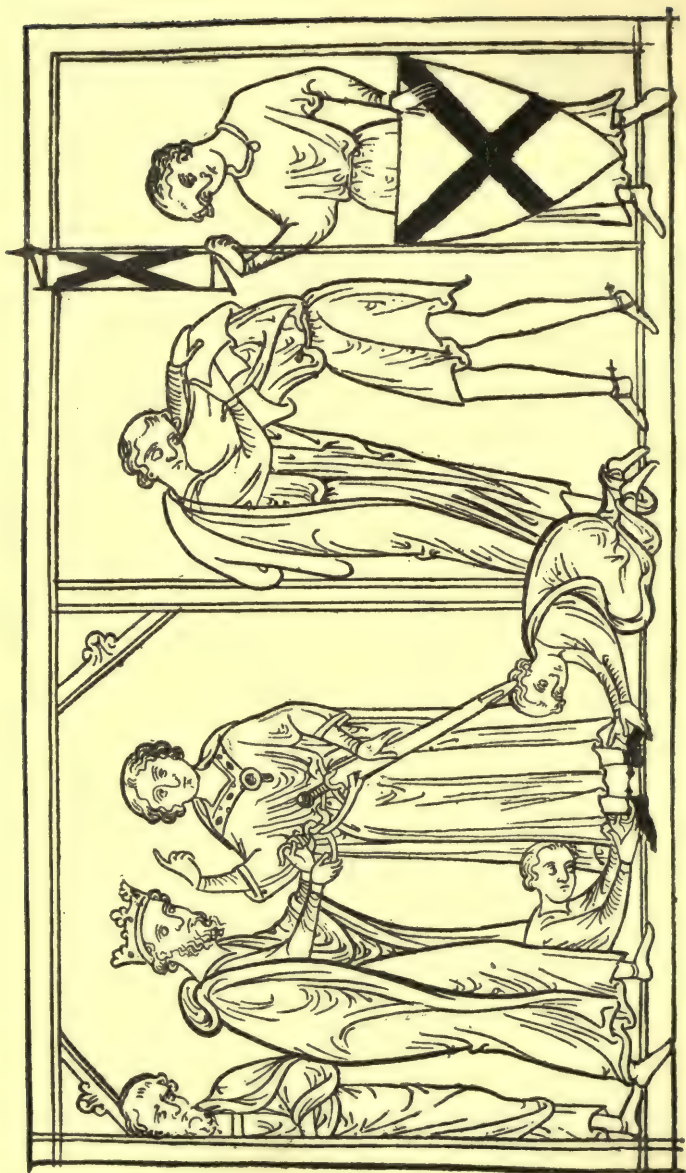
Warmund, a famous king of the western English, the founder of Warwick, which is *curia Warmundi*, has grown old and has an only son. This son Offa was blind from birth until his seventh year and dumb until his thirtieth year, so that his father could scarce set him up to be his heir. Rigan, otherwise called Aliel, one of the chief men of the king, conspiring with one Mitun, seeks to persuade the king to adopt him for his successor. The name of Rigan is easily derived, Mr. Skeat being yet to be born, from the harshness of this noble's demeanour. His son Hildebrand, a stout knight who derives his name from his brand, stands by his father in his cause.

The King Warmund sits upon his throne in a long gown girt at the waist. The broad orphrey at the neck is fastened with a round brooch. No king in this series carries a sceptre. In this case Warmund rests his hand upon a crutched staff. Each of the group is cloaked, a long and loose cloak hanging over the king's left shoulder. Rigan's dress resembles that of the king, save that the jewelled orphrey is represented by a plain border. The two lords at the sides of Rigan and the king wear their coats to the knee, with short cloaks, which one fastens with a brooch at the left shoulder. All the sleeves end a little below the elbow, showing the tight sleeve of the smock or under garment beneath. The boots are slightly pointed, and two caps are shown, round and close fitting, with a narrow rolled brim.

Suggestio
v. m. l. o. r.
et deinde cum filio diffidit.

Rigan never stints to push his scheme with the king, now tempting him with fair words, now threatening him. A counsel is called, which puts Rigan from the court. He leaves full of rage in his heart, and gathers a great host against the king. Whilst Warmund takes new counsel against the rebels, the deliberations are heard by Offa, who though tongue-tied has the use of his ears. He cannot pray aloud, but within himself he prays of the Trinity strength of eyes, saving wisdom and comfort. His prayer is heard, and to the wonder of all he rises and speaks, and reproaches the conspirators against his father's right and his own. Rigan goes forth heaping threats upon threats, but the king's true liegemen fall at their sovereign's feet full of joy.

The outstretched arms of Offa show very clearly the manner in which the ulness of the upper sleeve is joined to the body of the coat, the sleeve beginning its separate existence at the elbow. This is less marked in the short coat of Rigan, which is cut more for action than is the longer gown. Rigan's three-quarter cloak will be noted with its high collar or hood and the band which fastens it at the neck. The headgear is noteworthy : Rigan in a close coif fastening with string under the chin ; his follower, the *suggestor malorum*, in a hat with the brim turned down ; the two kneeling nobles in close round skull caps, and the one standing in a larger cap with hanging sides. Offa wears a fillet about his head, which seems to be jewelled.



The king girds Offa with his sword, joining to him certain brave youths whom he makes knights with his son in his honour.

Here Offa is made a knight at the hands of his father. His gown has a low neck with a deep jewelled orphrey such as is worn by the king in the first picture, with a large brooch fastening the opening. The sword belt is not buckled, but fastens with a knot. On his heels they tie short prick spurs. The sword with quills slightly dropped is a one-handed sword. As with that of Rigan in the last plate, the scabbard clips the hilt, not the hilt the scabbard. In the second division Offa's hawberk is being pulled on over his head. His shield is large, and almost an equal sided triangle in form. The charge of the saltire upon it and upon the banner has been put in by a later hand, much later it may be than the picture. It will be remembered that the saltire is the charge given for arms by later ages to St. Alban and to the monastery of St. Alban.



The two hosts are drawn up on either side of a torrent across which they throw darts and hard words, until with a picked band Offa throws himself across the river. His main battle is slow to succour him, and the enemy makes a fierce stand. At last, moved by Offa, his host follows, and Offa falling upon Rigan's men 'like a lion and lioness robbed of their cubs' puts them to flight. Brut, otherwise called Hildebrand, and Sweyn, the sons of Rigan, come in his path, bad young men whose folly leads them to curse Offa with evil words. Offa strikes Brut one blow with his sword and cleaves him through the helm to the marrow of his brain.

This spirited battle piece has many points of interest. For the heads, five are covered with hoods of mail. Two are defended with barrel helms, whereof one to little purpose. The rebel knight behind the unhappy Brut wears over his mail hood an iron cap which at first sight recalls the early Norman period. But it will be seen that although the long nose piece is here, the crown is rounded instead of pointed. No single plate appears, all being seemingly chain mail. Two types of shield are shown, whereof the larger pattern carries a raised boss. The smaller shield of the rebel knight is of singular interest. The figure of the lion upon it leaves no doubt that these drawings, the first six of this series, are by the hand of that artist, whether brother Matthew or another, who made the first collection in England of drawings of the shields of nobles—the first English roll of arms. Two knights show bearings upon both coat and shield. The mallets are certainly by our artist's hand, but the tiny saltire on Offa's shield and the saltire between four roundels are both by the hand of the later meddler. Brut's shield appears to be figured as gyronny. The short hawberk ends well above the knee, and the surcoats are long and flowing, with wide openings for the arms. The saddles are high peaked and no bards or trappers appear.



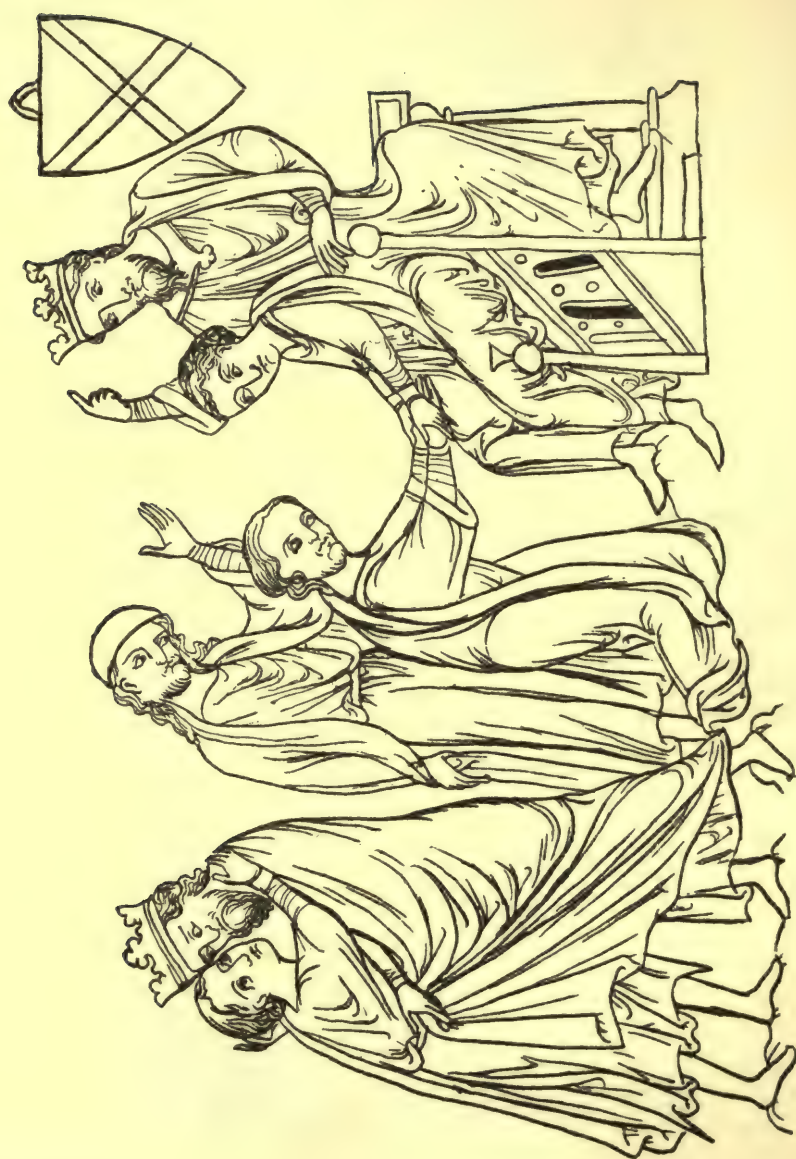
Sweyn flies, but Offa slays him as he goes and casts him down. Rigan himself seeks in vain to cross the river, which is now in spate with the blood of the slain, and here he is drowned without a wound upon him. From his drowning the river is called Riganburne, which is also called the Avene.

The iron cap of the unfortunate Sweyn is clearly drawn and very noteworthy. It follows the lines of one in the last plate, but is strengthened with a flowered ornament on the crown and has an engrailed pattern at the rim. The ornament would seem to be the cross paty borne upon his shield, which has also an engrailed border. The trappers of his horse have nine such crosses upon a field with roundels, but with no border. Offa's horse is also with trappers, but the saltire here and on his coat is again an addition by the hand which has scrawled in the missing spears and Sweyn's falling banner. The knight next to Offa has a twist round the brows of his mail coif, probably for additional defence and to keep the coif in place. The manner of holding the shield when running a course is shown by Offa, whilst the knight who seeks to drag Sweyn to safety has his shield slung at his back. His half-sleeved hawberk will be noted and the slittered edge of his companion's coat.



Offa comes away unwounded from his victory, leaving his own booty to his men, and burying honourably the dead of both hosts on a high ground called Qualmhul from the slaughter of that day.

The cap of the bearded figure will be noted and the two pairs of boots higher than the usual pattern. See also the pointed hood of one of those lifting the tomb slab.



Offa's father, greeting his son upon his return, surrenders to him his kingdom. He has warred in his day against earthly hosts ; for the rest of life he will strive against the foes of his soul. At the last Warmund dies and Offa is crowned in his place. He weds the King of York's fair daughter, whom he had found when hunting in the woods to which she had flown from her father's wickedness. By her he has children, sons and daughters. The King of Northumberland seeks his daughter in marriage, offering to take her without dowry and to be Offa's man, if Offa will aid him against his barbarous foes the Scots.

The shield of Offa is a late addition.



Offa swears the King of Northumberland to his pact upon the Gospels, and goes north to fall upon the Scots, who fly before him. He sends a foolish messenger home with the news, who strays into the hands of the King of York. This evil king plies him with wine and in a secret place robs him of his letter, which is tampered with and made to read as though King Offa had come by defeat. In this false letter Offa says that this is befallen him for his sin in that against his people's will he had married a foul witch. The queen is to be taken to a desert place unknown of men, where, amongst wild beasts and birds, mother and children may perish with hands and feet lopped off.

Here the series of pictures is carried on by another hand whose methods differ in line and composition from those of the artist of the first six plates. This second, and it may be said, inferior hand, adds certain details to the work. Here the mails are carefully drawn—all in this plate being banded mail. The barrel helm disappears and plates appear, by which it would seem that the work was carried on after some lapse of years. Offa's saltire is again added to the pennon and the shield. His coat is still long and flowing, but the other coat is to the knee only. He now wears knee-cops and greaves or bainbergs. Most noteworthy is the head covering of the knight who is struck in the neck. His mail coif has a mask vizor attached directly to it, without any iron cap. The other heads are in plain coifs of mail.



The nobles of the council (to whom the possibility of questioning the messenger does not occur) obey the mandate of the false letter.

Led away to a desert place the mother is spared of the sword for the sake of her great beauty, but her children are cut in pieces before her. By good fortune a hermit wandering in that desert by night hears the queen bewailing herself. After many prayers he joins the cloven limbs together and signs the dead with the cross, and they are made whole again in soul and body, to be nourished in the desert by the hermit. Meantime Offa comes home victorious.

The broad cross belt which supports the knight's scabbard is to be noted. The queen's gown is of the simplest form with light sleeves and girded at the waist.

The king's figure has plain unbanded mail. Note the large single-handed sword with heavy pomel and straight quills, the crown upon the mail coif, the surcoat to the knee, the bainbergs and knee cops and long prick spurs.



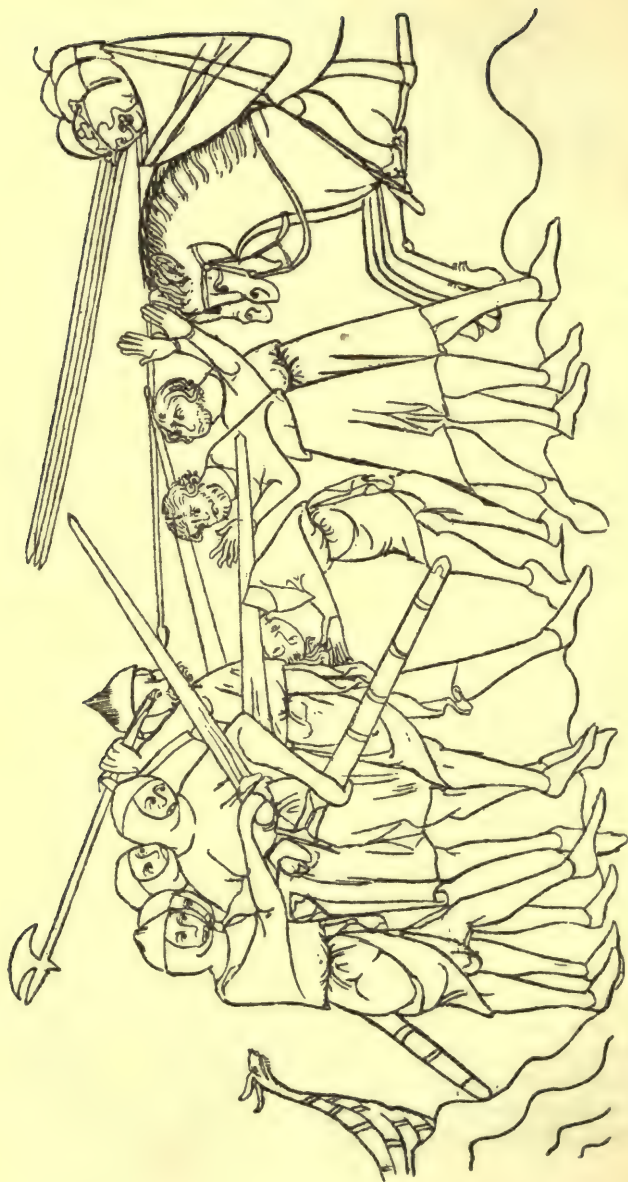
A long while the great men of the realm hide the truth from Offa, but at last the whole story is told him and the king gives way to his grief, mourning wife and children with great woe, putting on sackcloth and sprinkling himself with ashes. His wise men, knowing his former love for hunting, persuade him to follow the chase for solace of his grief. Hunting in the wild wood he comes to the little house of the holy hermit, to whom he tells all his grief. With great joy the hermit tells him that his sorrow is at an end and that the queen lives. Indeed at that moment she is in the inner room bathing her children, and the king and queen are brought together with great joy. In memory of his happiness regained Offa founds a monastery. The story of his life is now at an end. He dies at a good age in peace and is royally buried with his fathers.

The king in his hunting dress wears a tunic to the knee over his long gown. This tunic has a full cape and over that an ample hood. Note the long wristed gloves.



We now come to the story of the second Offa. At his birth he was called Pinered, and he was born son of Tuinfreth (who was of the house of the kings) by Marcelline his wife. He was lame, blind and deaf from his birth upward. But his parents presenting him to God in the church, he is miraculously healed, even as was the first Offa, and for this reason he was called no more Pinered but Offa the Second. In that land of the Mercians was a tyrant called Beormred, before whose tyranny Tuinfred and his family were fain to flee away. But the young Offa being made a knight gathered other knights to him and returned and defeated Beormred to the great joy of all the stock of the kings, amongst whom was his father the Earl Tuinfreth, who would have surrendered his earldom to him had he not refused it with pious words. Upon this the nobles of Mercia took him from his parents crying that he should be no earl but their king. Therefore Offa was crowned and peace flowed again amongst the Mercians. He wedded with Drida, a virgin of the house of the King Charles of France, who was fair of face but who, for the sake of a crime she had done, had been set in a little ship at the mercy of the winds. She drifted to the English shore, where, telling a false story of her innocence, she was given by the king to the care of his parents between whom she sowed discord. Nevertheless the king, drawn by her beauty, married her suddenly without counsel from his parents or nobles, and by her who called herself Peronel he had issue a son Egfrid.

It is unfortunate that the artist should have here failed to indicate the pattern of the mails. In this and the following plate we have headpieces which should have shown whether the curious vizor of the eighth plate was a familiar type or whether it was but a single error of the hand of a man unused to the affairs of war. Here we have, it would seem, two more examples, but from the presence of a dragon's-wing crest upon one, one may guess that a helm all of plates may be indicated.



The kings of the country round about the kingdom of the Mercians being subdued by Offa, they seek aid from Charles, King of the French, who writes a threatening letter to Offa, who despises it saying, '*Quid mihi et Karolo transmarino.*' Offa, in defiance of the threats of King Charles, conquers the king of the East English, and soon afterwards Charles dies, cut off by poison or apoplexy. To Charles, the son of Charles, called Charles the Great, the enemies of Offa apply themselves again, and help is promised them. Nevertheless Offa, disregarding a second letter from oversea, wars victoriously against the rebels of Kent and against the Northumbrians and the west and south Saxons, and against the Welsh to whose country they fly. In all this Offa carries himself as becomes a Christian prince, and never fails to give burial to the bodies of his enemies, and to order masses for their souls. Charles the Great who had threatened him beforetime becomes his friend and ally.

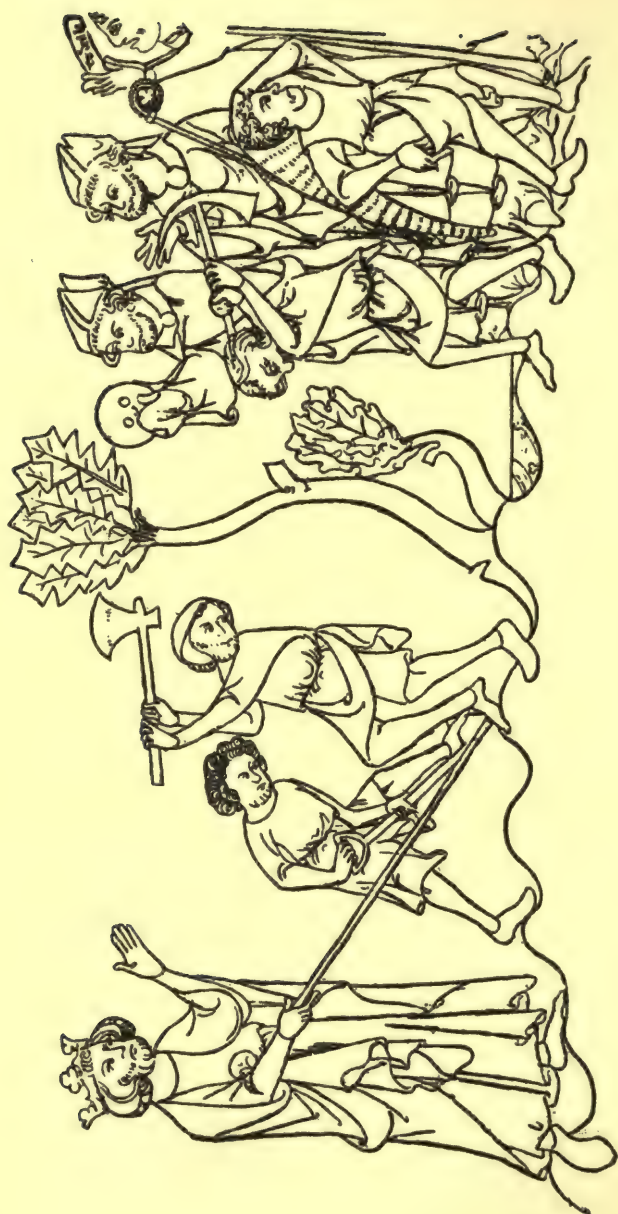
In this time the Danes, a folk who are wont to live by piracy and robbery, land on the coast and vex the people with fire and killing. These were the first of the Danish slaughters in England. These Danes are even so bold, that recking nothing of the prowess of Offa they make their way inland, but Offa hearing of these things drives them to their ships again with loss of men and booty.

Here we have a group of Danes whom the artist has sought to figure in their habit as they lived. One of them swings the long axe which was the weapon beloved by Danish fingers. The fluke at the back of the head will be noted. Offa and his men have round helms, but these Danes have each an iron cap somewhat pointed in the crown, one markedly so. Their great single-handed swords and banded scabbards are well indicated. Offa's saltire is an addition to the shield.



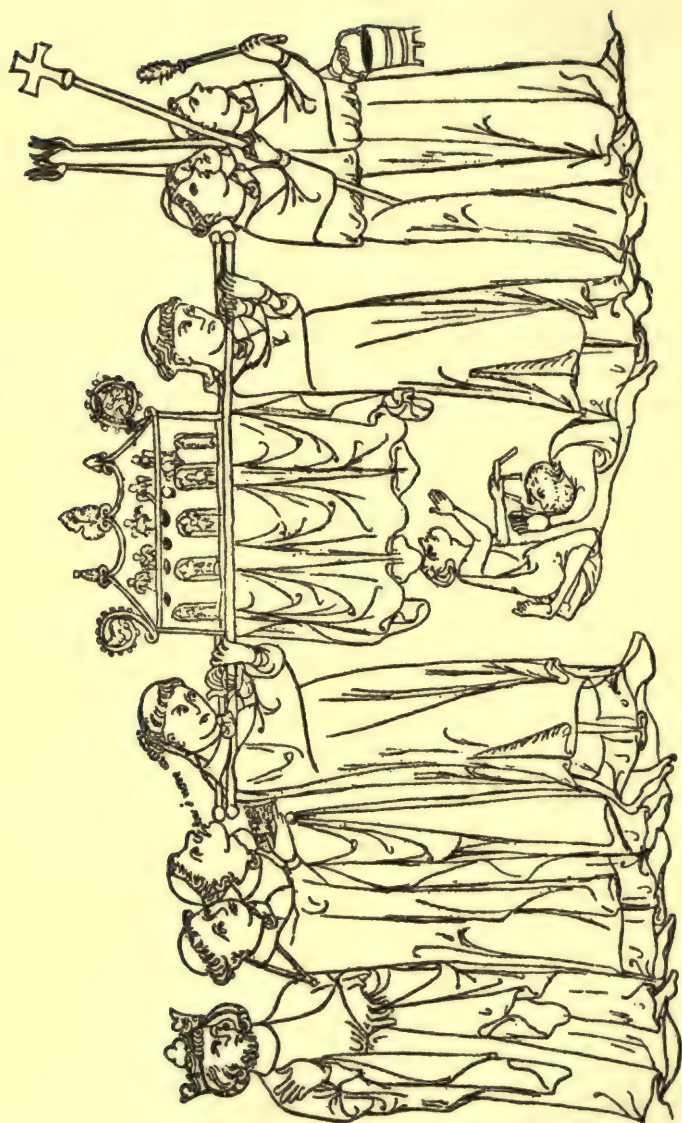
With three of the conquered kings his neighbours Offa makes peace by giving his daughters in marriage, namely with Brithric, King of the West Saxons, Atheldred of the Northumbrians and with the holy Albert of the East English. This last however fell under the jealousy of the wicked Drida or Quendrida, wife of Offa, who, after accusing him falsely to her husband of plotting against his throne, led him on his wedding night to a certain seat prepared for him in the bridal chamber. This seat, when he had sat down upon it, fell with him into the depth of a pit in which the queen's men suffocated that 'most elegant young king and martyr.' The head of Albert was hewn off and the body meanly buried. In a wonderful way his saintliness was made manifest, for a blind man, stumbling upon the head, took it in his hands, and afterwards carrying his bloody hands to his eyes, received his sight. The judgment of God afterwards came upon the wicked queen, for robbers who would have spoiled her silver and gold threw her down her own well where she died as Albert had died in the pit.

In these four kings and three dames we have a picture of the notable simplicity of dress at this period. The kings have cloaks thrown over their shoulders, but otherwise their dress differs nothing from that of the ladies. The headdress of the ladies is probably a kerchief thrown over the hair and bound about the brows with a narrow fillet; and this although the top of the gear gives at first sight the appearance of such a cap as that which Rigan wears in the first picture.



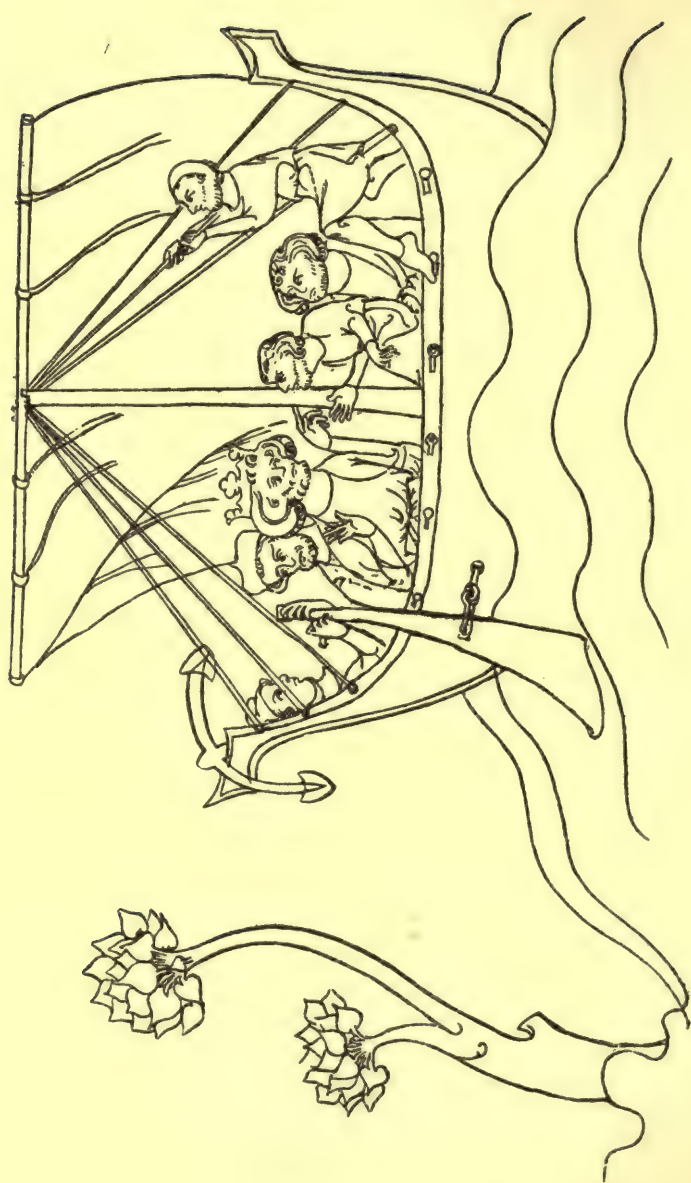
It befell that as King Offa rested upon his bed in the city or Bath, a vision of an angel came to him, bidding him take up from the earth the relics of the holy Alban the first martyr of the Britons, and set them in a worthy shrine. Therefore Offa came to Verolamium with Humbert, Archbishop of the Mercians, and prayers were offered that they might find the body where it lay, to which place they were led by a light from heaven, and the body was found in a wooden box.

The two bishops appear in mitres of a graceful form and are clad by the fancy of the artist in mass vestments. One holds a crosier of rich work. Note the eared cap of the hewer with the axe, and the axe itself, which with its heavier head and hammer-fluke may be compared with the long fighting axe of the Dane in an earlier plate. A spade and a pickaxe with a pick-fluke and mattock-fluke are shown. The dresses of the common people are the simple ones familiar in pictures of the time : a loose coat, girded at the waist and tight at the sleeves, and long hose. An entirely delightful figure of the British workman, unmoved and deliberate, is the man on the right carrying away the long basket of earth.



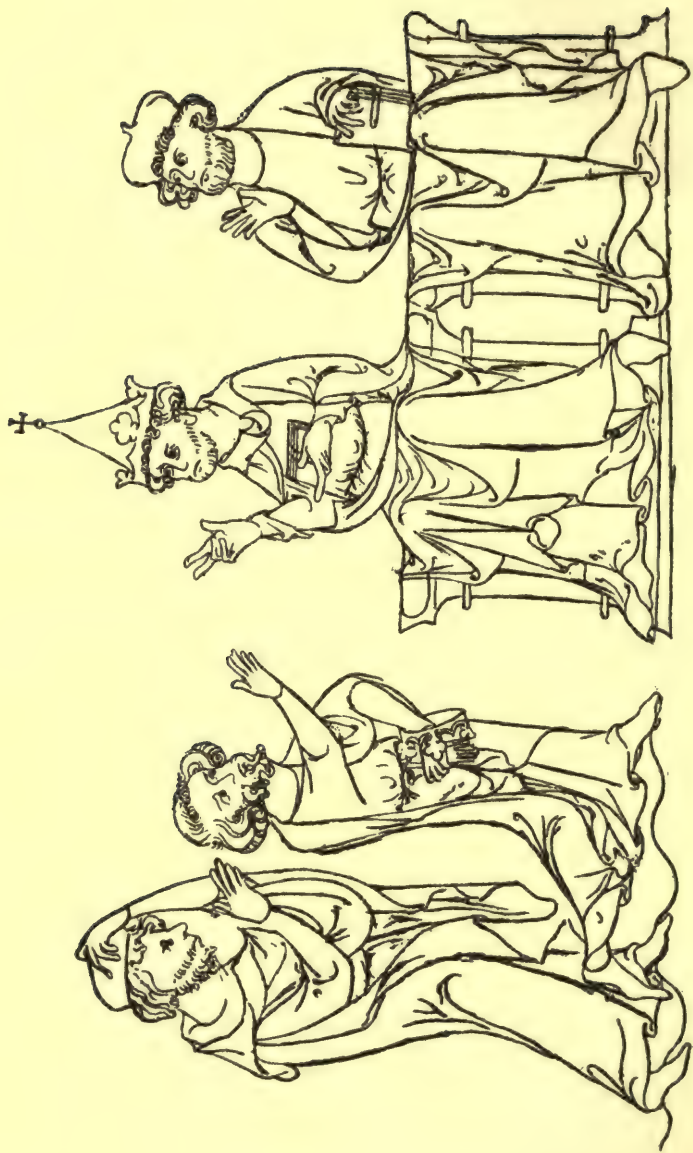
With great honour the body is raised up, and the archbishop and bishops bear it with hymns and praise to a little church without Verolamium which had been built by disciples in honour of the blessed martyr. Miracles are wrought here, the dead being called back to life, the feeble to health, and the deaf, dumb, blind and lame healed of their ills.

The holy water clerk, the cryss-bearer and candle-bearer are in long girded albs with amices, the bearers of the *feretrum* are in albs, very long surplices and amices. The two singing at the end of the procession in copes with a very small hood.



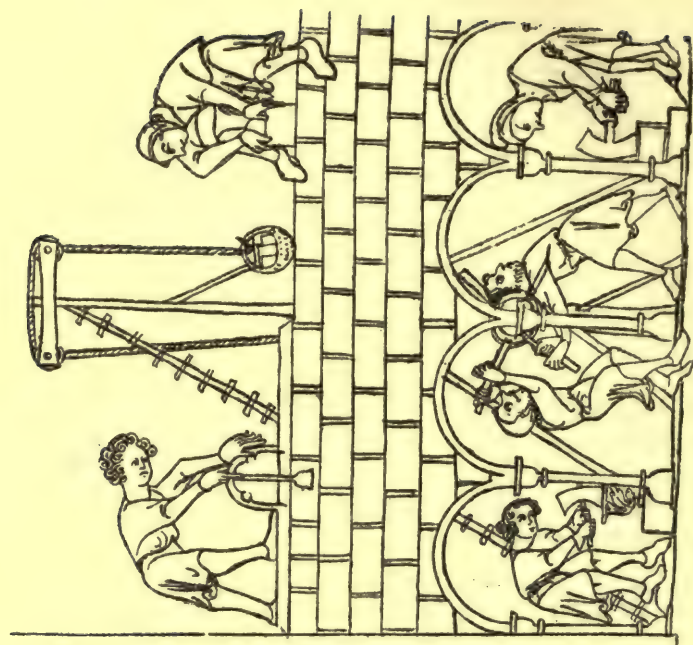
For the greater honour of St. Alban, King Offa himself takes ship and journeys to Rome by way of Flanders.

The mariner at the sheet has the short coat such as the workmen wore in the last plate. The steersman of this king's ship, which is sadly undermanned, has a full hood drawn up over his head. The cap of the king's companion is evidently one worn by churchmen.



At Rome he lays his story before the Pope Adrian, who grants privileges to the monastery which Offa would build at Verolamium. Having bestowed an annual rent upon the school of the English at Rome, Offa comes back to found the monastery of St. Albans.

The pope Adrian wears a high mitre of foolscap shape with a cross at the tip and a crown at the brim. The churchman or cardinal by him wears a hat like the one which Offa's companion is doffing. Offa himself having taken off his crown, we see an established custom of removing the headgear for more respect. Offa's follower wears a long cloak with an ample hood. Adrian wears gown and cloak as do the others. About his neck is an amice, and his hands have long gloves with soft and loose wrists.



The first stone of the building is set by the king with his own hands in honour of the blessed martyr. The monastery being founded, dowered and privileged, Willegode is made first abbot thereof.

Offa was a great king, and though he was but styled King of the Mercians he ruled over three and twenty provinces which the English call shires. At the last he died, this king of immortal memory, and he died, as is believed, in the town called Offeley. His body was carried to Bedeford and buried in a chapel on the bank of the Usk, which chapel has since been carried away by the running water and his body lies in his stone coffin in mid-stream. Woe upon the idleness and ingratitude of the old abbots and monks of the church which he founded, that they did not give honourable burial to the body of their good patron and founder !

Two of the workers have the coif tied under the chin. One has a hood drawn up over his head. It will be noted that architect, king and king's companion are dressed alike in every detail to the head.

WHAT IS BELIEVED

Under this heading The Ancestor will call the attention of press and public to much curious lore concerning genealogy, heraldry and the like with which our magazines, our reviews and newspapers from time to time delight us. It is a sign of awakening interest in such matters that the subjects with which The Ancestor sets itself to deal are becoming less and less the sealed garden of a few workers. But upon what strange food the growing appetite for popular archæology must feed will be shown in the columns before us. Our press, the best-informed and the most widely sympathetic in the world, which watches its record of science, art and literature with a jealous eye, still permits itself, in this little corner of things, to be victimized by the most recklessly furnished information, and it would seem that no story is too wildly improbable to find the widest currency. It is no criticism for attacking's sake that we shall offer, and we have but to beg the distinguished journals from which we shall draw our texts for comment to take in good part what is offered in good faith and good humour.

IN an article upon Hatfield and the Cecils Lady Jeune is easily first amongst those writers who, all unwitting, strive for fame in these columns of ours. Meritorious as is her contribution to 'What is Believed' she must however share our applause with the late Mr. James Russell Lowell.

The late Mr. Russell Lowell once said to the author of this paper that in nearly every instance of genius or ability of whatever kind in man or woman, in his experience, he had never failed to trace a Jewish descent or some Jewish strain of blood, which in his opinion was the explanation of its existence.

It is evident that in Mr. Russell Lowell we lost more than a tactful ambassador and the creator of Birdofreedom Sawin. There walked amongst us, and we knew it not, a genealogist of the first force. Alas! his notes have perished with him. As becomes a good American he could have made clear to us the sixteen quarters, all clownishly and disgracefully English, of the impostor of Stratford-on-Avon; and with what loving industry could he have traced for us the right Hebrew line which was to end in the superficially un-

semitic name of Bacon. One may be permitted to guess that the pedigree of the family of Lowell enshrined one of the initial successes of this daring investigator. What new stimulus to adventurous genealogy! Nelson, Buller, Tennyson, Austin—wherever we grasp at the famous names they seem as bluntly English as Corelli; but Abraham was father of them all, and the secret of their birth died with Mr. Lowell. For the sake of our national honour it were well that our national pedigree from the nearest lost tribe of Israel should be put beyond all doubt by registration at the College of Arms, and the sooner the better.

* * *

Every genealogist meets now and again with a repulse. Mr. Lowell was frankly ready to admit the difficulties which sometimes lay in his way. There was the notorious case of Lord Salisbury.

He further proceeded to say that for some years he had been baffled and perplexed by being unable to find any such descent in the case of Lord Salisbury.

Repulse? yes, but never defeat. Mr. Lowell attacked the problem manfully.

After many searches and much careful examination of Lord Salisbury's pedigree he found that the Cecil family was descended from an Italian house of the name of *de Cecilus* (!), a member of which had settled in Lincolnshire in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

There in a word we have it. Further explanation seemed useless to Mr. Lowell. He was not addressing himself to the unlearned, and the remaining steps of the proof can be guessed at. *De Cecilus*, truly a remarkable surname, is certainly not Italian. What then, is not Italy a half way stage from Jerusalem to England? An agile mind would have the Cecils at their ancestral home in the holy city before Mr. Lowell could have replied to an unnecessary question. And without appealing to Mr. Lowell for confirmation we may add that the family affection so noteworthy amongst the Hebrew races was especially conspicuous in these early Cecils, and that members of this house held most of the municipal and administrative posts in Jerusalem.

* * *

Such a pedigree would have been joy to the heart of the great Lord Burleigh, who, like Mr. Lowell, had followed

genealogy with many searches and much careful examination. Some measure of success was his, for he completed a dozen satisfactory pedigrees of Cecil, tracing their origin with some certainty at least twelve differing ways. Sometimes the house was founded by Sir Dive of Valence, who came in with the Conqueror and begat Sir Trym. Sometimes Sir Robert Turberville, *alias* Cecil, Secretary to the Conqueror, began the line of the Secretary to Queen Elizabeth. Now Syssylte, a Welsh prince, had founder's honours from Burghley; and now again the ancestral shade took the form of Owain, 'who came out of Cornwall with Harold son of Goduin.' Sir William Cecil's grandfather however remains always David Cecil of Stamford, and with him begins such documentary evidence as is accessible to those who have not Mr. Lowell's genealogical intuitions.

* * *

But a spirit of doubt is good equipment for a genealogist, and Lady Jeune herself has a touch of our craft. She is staggered, but not wholly convinced.

We give this story with all reserve, and express our belief that if Lord Salisbury owes any of his great qualities to a Jewish strain of blood, it is more likely to be found on his mother's side, Miss Bamber Gascoigne, whose father was a man of large fortune, was Lord Mayor of London, and left his daughter a great heiress, and through whom Lord Salisbury's large London property came into the family.

We follow Lady Jeune's clue. It is through that city where Beits and Barnatos, Rothschilds and Oppenheims sit at board and divide our substance with the genius and ability of their race, that a Jewish descent must needs come. But we cannot help feeling that Mr. Lowell was on surer ground with De Cecilus and the neighbourliness of Italy and the holy land.

* * *

The truth is that, unaided by Mr. Lowell, the trained genealogist would be hard pressed to name at hazard not so much the Jewish strain in a given family, but a Jewish strain in any English family before the latter half of the nineteenth century. In Spain, and still more in Portugal, the Jewish houses, some Christianized, some hearing mass with the old law in their hearts, were blood brothers to half the nobility. In Italy great houses were founded by Jews, whose descendants are on many pages of the *Almanach de Gotba*. In

England we drove out the Jews in 1290, man, woman and child. To-day Russia could not do this. France, even under a dictatorship, could not do the like. But in the sparsely peopled English towns of the thirteenth century it was possible to extirpate a people peculiar in features, in names and in dress ; and until Cromwell's day we took back but now and again a stranger who hid his Jewish name from his hosts. The Mends family in the west country is said to have had for its first founder a Jewish Mendez from the peninsula. The founder of the Cornish gentle family of Vosper is believed to have been another Spanish Jew who found a new home in a town whose name Marazion or Market Jew must have been welcome to his ears.

* * *

But from the time when the Jew came back under the protection of an English statute to a day very near our own he was with us and apart from us. Never did the races mix. His law kept Israel a peculiar people, neither marrying nor giving in marriage with his hosts. We have in mind a Jewish family settled in England for centuries, distinguished in the learned professions, and now earning good credit in the army and civil service. Until our own generation this family, typical of the liberal Jewish culture which has mixed freely with our own, has never married a son or daughter without Israel. The London citizens of the eighteenth century, of whom Lord Salisbury's Gascoigne ancestors were examples, came from the English land, and achieving fortune went back to the land in most cases. Amongst such families a marriage with man or woman of foreign race was a rare thing, with one of Jewish race impossible.

* * *

For the theory of genius deriving itself of necessity from a Jewish stock it were better to let it rest with its first and only successful exponent. Lady Jeune and the rest of us had better fall back for our theory of the racial origins of genius and ability upon the now familiar theory of the genius of the Kelt, which is less easy to disprove. It is on the face of it at least possible that the race of Shakespere derives what genius and ability it may have come by from its association with the race of James Clarence Maugan.

The pride of long descent will not disappear from the land with the old county families now parting in such haste with their acres. We find it nourished, a shy violet of tradition, in what the careless might deem the uncongenial surroundings of the beerhouse known as 'The Shades' at Great Bentley in Essex, whose beer licence, as was modestly set forth at licensing sessions, has been held by the same family for five hundred years. On the walls of old Tyrolese inns one may find long pedigree of the noble innkeeper, and the great Basque houses have for ages held the inns; but such customs are not ours, and the case of 'The Shades' is rare enough to note. It may, of course, be suggested that the innkeeper's pedigree is unnecessarily older than the licensing laws, and that no certified genealogy was exhibited to back the boast; but inquiries in this spirit would rob us not only of the pedigree of our Bentley beer licence, but also of most of our ancient county families, whose pedigrees as displayed in the annual golden books rest as a rule upon innocent traditions of the same value. A pot of beer at the hands of one whose ancestor may well have refused chalk and credit to Bardolph or Nym were indeed a draught for the wandering antiquary; and in the beer licence of Bentley let us believe that we have at least one relic of the middle ages which the Boston Museum will never dare to purchase and transfer to itself.

* * *

From Mr. Edward Hulton's *Italy and the Italians* :

Among the portraits I would name the one by Titian of that Duke of Norfolk exiled by Richard II., who eventually died in a monastery in Venice. The extraordinarily beautiful English face, fulfilled with some incalculable romance, is, to me at least, by far the most delightful portrait in Florence. One seems to understand England, her charm, her fascination, her extraordinary persistence, on looking at this picture of one of her sons, as never before; all the tragedy of her kings, the adventure to be met within her seas, the beauty and culture of Oxford, and the serenity of her country places, come back to one fresh and unsullied by the memories of the defiling and trumpery cities that so lately have begun to destroy her.

To an antiquary this portrait of the Duke of Norfolk is even more than the most delightful portrait in Florence. It is also one of the most mysterious. What strange hankerings for the coming renaissance could have persuaded this great English lord in exile to choose as the painter of his portrait such a painter as Titian, who was born some seventy and odd

years after the death of his sitter. 'Incalculable romance' and more is here, and true it is that we recognize the 'extraordinary persistence' of England in this picture of one of her sons whose patronage of art survived the grave.

* * *

A PEERAGE PUZZLE.—Lady Amabel Kerr is one of the many ladies of title who have taken to the production of fiction, in which she shows a good deal of facility. She is the wife of Admiral Lord Walter Kerr, the daughter of the late Earl Cowper and sister of the present Earl Cowper. It is an interesting fact that she is one of the coheireses to the barony of Butler. Other coheirs to the same barony are Mr. Auberon Herbert and Mrs. W. H. Grenfell. What will happen when the barony becomes due now it is difficult to say, but in the last reign the probabilities were in favour of its being adjudged and confirmed to Lady Amabel in her own right.

* * *

A peerage puzzle indeed, and one for the successful solution of which, did *The Ancestor* possess a 'puzzle column,' we should be tempted to offer a presentation copy of Mr. Round's *Peerage Studies*. But we have no 'puzzle column,' *Peerage Studies* is long since gone out of print, and the peerage puzzle before us seems to present features which would make it an unfairly difficult passage to set in a competition of amateurs. The barony of Butler is evidently a case apart. The fact that Lady Amabel's own brother is hopelessly out of the running for this ancestral honour would indicate that the barony may not descend to males; but if this be so, Mr. Auberon Herbert's claim is a desperate one, although the fact of his being a younger son may be to his advantage in this singular case. Before expressing any editorial opinion as to what will happen 'when the barony becomes due,' which is indeed 'difficult to say,' we should like to inquire at what time this may be expected. The barony of Butler, as we should guess from the context, is an honour partaking of the nature of a deferred annuity, or shall we rather guess it a strange aloe of the peerage, flowering once in a hundred years. Surely we have a motive here for that fiction which Lady Amabel produces with such facility.

* * *

The opening chapter of any biography is good cover for 'What is Believed,' and may be drawn for such by the sporting genealogist in good hope and confidence. We beat the first passages of the life of the Rev. Whitwell Elwin, Elwin

of the *Quarterly Review*, prefixed by his son to a collection of his articles ('Eighteenth Century Men of Letters'), and a noble paragraph breaks cover.

Whitwell Elwin belonged to an old Norfolk family. Indeed, if his ancestors may be recognized under the kindred spelling of *Alwinus*, they are already landowners in East Anglia as far back as the days of Edward the Confessor (Mumford's *Analysis of the Domesday Book of Norfolk*, p. 116). The name does not appear on the roll of the king's tenants in Domesday Book, and they were therefore no doubt dispossessed at the Conquest, but they seem nevertheless to have clung resolutely to their native county. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth Peter Elwin was chief steward to the Earl of Sussex, who held the manor of Thurning in Norfolk (Blomefield's *Norfolk*, viii. 280), and here it was that the Elwins had a little estate which was inherited by Whitwell's father, a direct descendant of the chief steward.

* * *

Pass for Peter Elwin the steward. He has all the air of the founder of a family, and the story of the descent of his estate is doubtless a fact capable of proof. But for Ailwin what can be said? Let us essay a paragraph ourselves on the same note :—

The conviction of one William or Bill Edwards for drunkenness and disorderly conduct in Westminster Yard has ended in the recording upon the black list at Westminster Police Court of a name once famous in Westminster annals. A sad story of the degradation of a family is apparent if we may recognize as his ancestor one Edward or Edwards, commonly known as the Confessor (*Life of the Rev. Whitwell Elwin*), who occupied important offices before the Conquest (Mrs. Markham's *History of England*), and who is buried in the cathedral church of the south-western postal district (Stanley's *History of Westminster Abbey*). The name disappears at the coming of William the Conqueror, but the Edwardses seem nevertheless to have clung resolutely to their native Westminster, from the railings of which Bill Edwards on his arrest had, indeed, to be detached by force. A stall in Parliament Street for the sale of hat guards and bone collar studs to members of parliament and others was traditionally owned by the grandfather of Bill Edwards, to whom it descended on the death of his uncle.

We confess that in this paragraph of our own there is something which fails to carry conviction. The *Daily Telegraph* would refuse it space under 'London Day by Day,' the *Chronicle* would close to it the casual ward of its two columns of topical anecdote. Nevertheless, turning it this way and that, we can see no improbability in it which is not shared by the story of Mr. Elwin's ancestry.

* * *

An example of 'What is Believed' in the mysterious region

of armory by happy souls unvexed by doubt may be found in Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's history of the Kemp families. We review this work in another column, but one tale of a Kemp and of a coat of arms is too precious to be lost in the depths of a reviewer's article. So far as we have understood Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's book, most bearers of the name of Kemp, a name easier, as Fuller would have said, to find than to miss, a name with a dozen varying origins and carried by scores of little tribes with no blood kinship or common stock, bear the arms made famous by a Kemp Archbishop of Canterbury, sometimes with trifling 'differences,' sometimes unchanged, sometimes with the official blessing of the College of Arms, but more frequently without.

* * *

In the first half of the eighteenth century there arose from an obscurity, which even the chronicler of the surname cannot lighten, a family of Kemp, woolcombers, needlemakers, butchers and the like, to whom increasing prosperity brought the shrievalty of Rutland and other honours. Although the good sheriff was unable to trace his ancestry further back into the past than a scanty four generations, nothing will hinder a stately family tradition from arising to grace the new standing of the family. It needs not to say that these Kemps of yesterday take to themselves for their sheriff's banners the arms of Kemp as borne by the Archbishop and Cardinal. But with the ancient arms comes a tradition that the first ancestor of this family, which can scarce find a great-grandfather by diligent grubbing in a parish register, 'came over with the Conqueror.' Kindly Mr. Hitchin-Kemp, a amateur pedigree maker who gives an innocent faith to that venerable lucky bag of doubtful ancestors, the Battle Abbey Roll, is puzzled by a tradition which he sees no reason for doubting. The Battle Abbey Roll having no Kemps under 'K' would seem to afford little nourishment for this hardy sapling of legend. But here Mr. Hitchin-Kemp can put a legend to a legend and we get along famously after all. Mr. Hitchin-Kemp has a pet fancy, for which no shred of evidence appears to rob his imagination of its credit, that 'the Kemp families,' and the family of the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick are derived from a common stock. It will be noted that his plunge into pedigree making has not robbed Mr. Hitchin-Kemp of the popular idea that

people of one surname, such as the medley of people called by the very common name of Kemp, have a common ancestor somewhere if one could but find him. And there is a weightier reason than the legend only for finding a Conquest ancestor for Kemp of Rutland.

* * *

Kemp of Rutland, having decided that his ancestors of whom he know, the bare names of three humble generations should come over with Richard Conqueror, adopts the armorial distinction to which, as he imagines, such a descent would entitle him. Will it be credited by any one whom experience has not already taught that no folly is impossible to the meddler with armory, that this distinction was nothing less than the adoption of the royal supporters. Accordingly we have a picture before us of the arms of Edward Kemp, Sheriff of Rutland, the arms and crest stolen from some dictionary of heraldry supported by the familiar lion and unicorn of the kings of England and Scotland. Mr. Hitchin-Kemp who has made one big book of arms and pedigrees and has others, as we learn, upon the stocks, has no rebuke for the providers of this curiosity of armory. 'We are forced to turn to the line of the house of Warwick in justification of the tradition' he murmurs. 'The line of the house of Warwick' summoned up to call cousins with a peasant Kemp, in order to justify the impudence of such an assumption, is a phrase which should make old Rous the chronicler of the stately house of Beauchamp turn in his grave!

* * *

It is not to be doubted that many of us come from a far away ancestor who in the flesh was what historians were to christen an Anglo-Saxon. His name is somewhere amongst the Confessor's tenants whose names were remembered in Domesday, or it lurks as one in a line of witnesses to some square of parchment. But he is strangely shy and makes no advances. Urge as we will towards him the ancestor whom we have found for the remote tops of our pedigree we cannot persuade them to meet. What wonder that bolder souls push their recorded ancestor aside and grasp by the hand the Anglo Saxon thane whom they have chosen for a hearth-god, and greet him for a forefather without further waste of time amongst musty documents.

No genealogist has as yet connected the Bagot who held Bramshall (and not Bagots Bromley) in Domesday with any Anglo-Saxon grandfather or ancestor, nor the present house of Bagot with the Domesday tenant, and the possibility of any discovery in that direction would seem to be of the slightest. But Bagot of Blithfield disdaining the aid of genealogists has bridged the gulf after the heartier manner of which we have spoken and is now as merrily Anglo-Saxon as Wamba the son of Witless. To our favourite illustrated weekly, then—

As befits a peer whose Staffordshire lands were in the family before the Norman Conquest—

(No hesitation there, mark you !)

Lord Bagot keeps Christmas after the fashion of his Anglo-Saxon ancestors—After dinner on Christmas Day toast and ale is served with quaint ceremony—to the ladies in the old-fashioned toast glasses and to the men in the loving cup . . . At Blithfield the Christmas customs are always historically correct, for Lord Bagot is a perfect mine of antiquarian information.

Indeed such a custom carries us back to the hall of Cedric. Toast and ale in the old-fashioned toast glasses which in our ignorance we had associated with the Hanoverian period ! How maligned were these Anglo-Saxons ancestors of ours, whom historians lacking in antiquarian information have ignorantly kept upon the black list. Here is your typically Anglo-Saxon carouse, a family dinner ending with a wineglassful of toast and water—or toast and ale is it ? We shall continue our search for our own Anglo-Saxon ancestor with new enthusiasm now that we know him for a person whom we could safely introduce to our aunt.

FAMILY HISTORY IN A HURRY¹

EVERY man who makes and records an accurate history of his family drawn from trustworthy documents may write himself historian or at the least benefactor of historians. The byway of history through which he has cleared a way may, it is true, never meet the main road of the chroniclers, but now and again we are given a sidelong view over the hedge at some famous happening which we thus see from a new point. At the least we have a new hillock of facts, and upon the mass of facts which we are heaping up the great historian to come will write of our land and people.

The book before us is one of the newest of the family histories of which such a crop has grown up to witness to the great revival of popular interest in genealogy which has followed the discovery that one's forefathers, although peerage and county gentry books speak nothing of them, may yet be people whose lives are full of entertainment for their descendants. It is a large book and well printed. We cannot well estimate the number of its pages for, by a curiously irritating device, it is divided into six books or sections each with its own pagination. The illustrations are many and, on the whole, well chosen, and amongst them are many portraits of living and dead Kemps, their monuments, their houses and their heirlooms.

In view of the labour which has gone to the compiling of this heavy volume it is with a true regret that we must record our belief that we have here a book published in haste to be repented of by its author when he shall have become more familiar with his material. The reasons for its failure are plainly to be read in Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's preface.

It is not his paternal ancestry which Mr. Hitchin-Kemp has chosen to labour at. He comes of a family of Puritans and Independents from Middlewich in Cheshire. His grandmother, Charlotte Brookes, the daughter of a London solicitor, was daughter also to a Charlotte Kemp. This lady, the sole

¹ *A General History of the Kemp and Kempe Families of Great Britain and the Colonies*, by Fred Hitchin-Kemp (The Leadenhall Press).

surviving heir of her brothers, was of the last generation of a yeoman family of Kemp which had dwelt at Clitterhouse in Hendon since Humphrey Kemp its patriarch had a lease of the manor of Clitterhouse in 1556. The preface tells a story familiar enough of the manner in which Mr. Hitchin-Kemp became interested for the first time in genealogy and in Kemps. He was visiting a relation near Ashford, and in passing the time fell upon a copy of Hasted's *Kent* in a country library and read with awakening pleasure a long account of Archbishop Kemp and his kinsfolk. The appetite comes in eating, and Mr. Kemp came back to his library to search in all directions for Kemps, and to wonder at the fact that the crest and arms of Kemp, as displayed by the archbishop's house, 'closely resembled those granted to my father on accession to certain Kemp estates. What connexion, I naturally asked, was there between this Kentish family and those of Hendon, Middlesex, from whom we were descended?' A question indeed which might be 'naturally asked' by any one unfamiliar with the methods of the august body whose high privilege it is to create 'armorial gents.' The question however got no answer from the august body, for the three familiar sheaves of Archbishop Kemp, with some differencing including a 'border nebuly,' whose nebulousness might in this instance be justified, had been granted to a family of Kemp which had recorded no pedigree.

Then to the British Museum went Mr. Hitchin-Kemp to follow any clue which might connect Kemp of Hendon with Kemp of Wye, a vain quest as it turned out. And here let us say that Mr. Hitchin-Kemp, although guessing at coincidences, as the new-fledged genealogist will guess, and only too ready to clutch at probabilities or improbabilities, writes with a good faith which convinces, and we feel assured that his Kemp pedigrees are at least free from any conscious mis-handling of fact.

A counsel of perfection to the beginner in genealogy would be that he should after a due interval cast his first year's note books to the fire. Well for Mr. Kemp if his courage has allowed him to follow this course with the earlier volumes of those seventy-three MS. books, the fruit of two years' labour, of which he speaks with reasonable pride. For the power of deciphering and translating records and of weighing evidence based upon dead and gone law and unfamiliar custom

is not born in a man, even in Mr. Kemp, who found himself at the outset of his search in the presence of Sir Kenneth Kemp's muniments, which range from King John's reign to the present time, from which he courageously extracts notes in whose value few of us will share Mr. Kemp's confidence.¹

Within a few months after Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's first pawn's move in genealogy he is boldly offering to print and issue to members of the Kemp families his collections of notes relating to the name. At that stage of his inquiry Mr. Daniel W. Kemp of Edinburgh joined forces with him, putting in the pool a solid hundredweight of Kemp collections, and Mr. Hitchin-Kemp was persuaded to carry his own researches further. A third Kemp, Mr. John Tabor Kemp, gives his editorial services to the joint work, and the result of this collaboration is now before us.

The earlier chapters by Mr. Tabor Kemp are not encouraging to the critic. We have a long dissertation rambling and inexact on the origins of the surname. The documents quoted and misquoted are chosen without discrimination. The Battle Abbey Roll is treated without question as a historical evidence, and we do not understand what version of this precious compilation can have yielded the fact that *Radulphus de Campis* held land at Wye from the abbey. If the author of the *Worthies of Devon* wrote that the Champernown family formerly wrote their name '*De Campo Arnulphi* from a certain Champion Country where one Arnulphus lived' he deserves some elucidation. But Mr. Tabor Kemp does not seem to have grasped the fact that the Latin surnames of early documents are not the actual surnames borne by the folk they refer to, but a scrivener's rendering of them into dog-Latin in order that they should accord with the language of the rest of the document. That *de campo Arnulphi* equals Champernown needs no demonstration, or if a demonstration were needed such a sentence as 'The Inquisitio 30, Edward I., [*sic*] records that Lady John [*sic*] Champernown granted land for the celebration of masses for her father William de Campo

¹ A photograph of one of these documents is shown us amongst the illustrations. Mr. Hitchin-Kemp, seeing a piece of a large seal hanging to it, and being apparently unable to read or translate its Latin phrases, boldly describes it as 'a Royal Grant.' But the seal is not a royal seal, and even the faint and minute reproduction shows that the parchment is an indenture made between two private persons.

Arnulphi.' Such a reference shows only too clearly that Mr. Tabor Kemp is referring to documents he has not handled and of whose exact nature he is ignorant. But with Champernown Mr. Kemp has no real concern. He is dragged into the text as is John Compos of Hertfordshire and the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick, because aimless guessing would find in their names some affinity with that of Kemp.

A very precious passage of Mr. Tabor Kemp's introduction deals with the royal intimacies of the Kemps. 'Kemps,' says Mr. Tabor Kemp proudly, 'appear in close association with royalty from the first known appearance of the name to the present day.' For evidence of this during the pre-Tudor period we are offered two facts which are convincing enough. One Stephen Kempe was fined in 1127 for leaving the king's court, and Archbishop Kempe and his nephew the bishop were 'necessarily much in touch with the king.' With such a courtly past we are not amazed to learn that two living Kemps are amongst the royal chaplains.¹

With the story of the Kempes of Wye begins the genealogical section of the work, and it begins with the feeblest guesswork. That their first ancestor 'came from the North' is witnessed to by a Mr. Alfred John Kemp who wrote of them in the first half of the nineteenth century, and for the statement he considered it needless to give any evidence. Mr. Hitchin-Kemp starts hot foot to follow this valuable clue. The North—that must mean Northumberland, for in Newcastle King John in 1205 gave lands of 50s. yearly value to one Kempe 'till he could provide for him in marriage.' The source of this fact is not given us, and indeed for the most part of Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's evidences relating to medieval Kemps we must accept him as our sole authority, for references or trustworthy extracts are in almost every case to seek. This Kempe of Newcastle, 'whose Christian name is not given' and whose Christian name, it may be hazarded, was the name which Mr. Hitchin-Kemp takes for his surname, was *balistarius* to the king, an office which is somewhat inexactly translated as 'bowmaker.' Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's comment upon the gift of lands is that Kempe 'evidently had powerful family connexions

¹ The source of the story of Stephen Kempe is not given us, but it seems evident that Master Stephen incurred his fine by absenting himself from some court of law and not, as our author would seem to believe, by withdrawing himself austere from the jovialities of the king's private circle.

since the king considered it necessary thus to provide for him.' Translating the affair into the terms of modern life are we to believe that the present sovereign of these realms is moved to reward the labours of his bootmaker by the influence of that bootmaker's powerful family connexions? Form Kempe of the annual 50s. we plunge into a quagmire of guesses. 'The Nevills were Earls of Northumberland,' and must therefore have been familiar with the bowmaker, an argument which, once stated, heartens Mr. Hitchin-Kemp to declare that 'it may be possible some day to prove that the families were linked in marriage.' The fact then that a Kempe is found dwelling in Newcastle is all but enough to secure him a place in the pedigree of the earls of the county. Surely Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's imagination should be ridden on the curb. Meanwhile he would do well to carry his inquiries as far as the nearest peerages to learn that there were no Nevill Earls of Northumberland, although their ancestor Gospatric is credited with the title.

But their familiarity with the bowmaker does not close the story of the Nevill intimacy with the Kemps. In 1477 Edward Nevill, Lord Bergavenny, whose lands like Sir Ingoldsby Bray's lay here and there and everywhere, had amongst his thousand tenants a Norfolk tenant whose surname was Kempe. These lands in Norfolk were inherited from William *de Bello Campo*, Lord Bergavenny of the house of Warwick, whose surname Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's researches have not yet succeeded in translating into English as Beauchamp, and who had been also in his day landlord to the said Kemp. 'When therefore we find Thomas de Bello Campo, the powerful Earl of Warwick [in 1381] interceding on behalf of a Thomas Kempe of Rochester, who had lost his estates for misdemeanour, we can hardly doubt that this was a case of an influential man assisting an unfortunate relative.' Mr. Hitchin-Kemp may be unable to doubt, but we at least doubt very heartily. Is it possible that Mr. Hitchin-Kemp is unable to see that there is no sound link in the whole of this skimble-skamble stuff, these childish and futile guesses upon guesses? Thomas of Rochester is a cousin of the great Earl of Warwick in 1381 because a member of the earl's family is to have a tenant in Norfolk in 1436 and 1477 who will also be called Kempe. At this rate we are all one man's children and may call cousins with the best.

For the Kempes of Wye as for many other families of the name, Mr. Hitchin-Kemp has put together, or let us rather say collected, a mass of notes, but unfortunately for their value hardly any of these are accurately quoted and no references are given to their sources save in the case of a few wills and parish register extracts, and even these latter are vitiated by the fact that the compiler has not mastered such an elementary fact as that the civil year formerly began on 25 March. We search for many pages without encountering a note of any document at the Public Record Office of which Mr. Hitchin-Kemp is seen to have made himself master by personal inspection. Most of the evidences seem the result of not too careful note-taking from a range of county histories and other printed books, without discrimination as to their varying degrees of trustworthiness. A note bearing a reference to the Feet of Fines shows by its query whether the date of the fine be 1 Henry VII. or 1 Henry VIII. that Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's researches in the Record Office have not extended to these tolerably well known records, and such incidents as his mention of one 'Rado' Kempe as a witness to a charter inevitably suggest that Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's Latin was unequal to the demands upon it which would have arisen in the examination of original materials. Ancient nomenclature puzzles him to the end of his task, witness such freaks as 'Matilda of England, Empress Maud,' 'William de Warren Plantagenet,' 'Richard Distemper,' husband of Elizabeth Neville, and the like.

The pedigree of Scott of Scott's Hall from John Balliol and Dornagieen [*sic*] his wife is accepted without question and set out in chart form to accompany the history of Kempe of Wye. The history of the important family of Kempe of Gissing follows after the same plan. It is not doubted that *Lucem spero*, the motto of the modern Kempes, is five hundred years old, the only question being whether it was invented by a knight or a monk. The most characteristic example here to be found of Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's ingenious reasonings is the case of Alice Kempe, who in the early sixteenth century takes the veil at Barking Abbey. Why Barking? Mr. Hitchin-Kemp can tell us. The Kempes of her family who came after her were to frame a fond legend of their Anglo-Saxon origin, for which probability it is needless to say that no shadow of evidence is forthcoming. The reason therefore for

Alice's choice of Barking is clear enough, 'and may reasonably be attributed to her venerating the Saxon founder of that abbey to whose race she claimed to belong.'

It is fair to say that in later generations Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's industry prevails, and his large collections of notes here set out will be of service to any Kemp pedigree maker needing a bird's eye view of the distribution of the bearers of the surname.

Especially is this the case with the pedigree of Mr. Hitchin-Kemp's own Kemp ancestors, whom he has worked out with some care and considerable success. Their possession of Clitterhouse in Hendon allows them to be carried with certainty to Humphrey Kempe who died in 1609, whose father Robert Kempe of Willesden died in 1539, a pedigree, as any genealogist will acknowledge, which can be matched by few families of the middling sort. It is the more the pity that Mr. Hitchin-Kemp has chosen to decorate the top lines of his chart pedigree with the names of highly improbable ancestors of this respectable family, headed by 'Stephen Kempe, fined for leaving the King's Court 1127,' 'Amaldus (*sic*) de Campis, Master of the Knight's Hospitalers 1160,' 'William Kempe rewarded by the King for catching a Whale near London Bridge 1313'—London Bridge is not far from Willesden—and Thomas Kempe 'Exheator' (*sic*) for Middlesex 1389. Kempe, Bishop of London, associates himself with the family by separating Hampstead parish from Hendon in 1461, and the Kempes of Gissing edge themselves in at the pedigree side as unattached Norfolk cousins.

Such undoubted industry as that of Mr. Hitchin-Kemp should be equal to continuing his researches upon a sounder footing. If he would arrange for us careful abstracts of the documents by which his own pedigree is to be proved, with full dates, accurate references, and a chart pedigree clean of Amaldus de Campis and Stephen, whose absence from court brought him to misfortune, he would play his part amongst genealogists and deserve well of all pedigree makers. It is safe to prophesy that his growing experience will make a smaller and more trustworthy book of his next essay.

O. B.

A SCOTTISH FAMILY CHRONICLE

In the Wedderburn Book we have a very notable example of a Scottish family history, and a grave and valuable contribution to the story of social life in Scotland. The painful industry which the passion for pedigree-making exacts from every student of genealogy is here, as two volumes and eleven hundred closely printed pages warrant, but here also are cautious judgment and a disposition to weigh evidence justly, qualities which are yet rare enough amongst genealogists. The author of the Wedderburn Book has set before himself the very reasonable saying of his namesake Alexander Wedderburn, Lord Loughborough, who, when asking information of a kinsman in 1782 concerning the family history, writes that 'it would be useful to mention the documents by which the several descents are proved, as I am persuaded that you would incline as little as myself, that anything should be published concerning the family that could not be well supported.'

Wedderburn lies by the Tweed in Berwickshire and was a township with a tower long since. As becomes a township giving its name to an old family, the name has been interpreted in many ways by the innocent guesses of early etymologists. A good knight is lying in the glen sore wounded and dry-mouthed, and a wedder or wether-sheep going to drink at the burn points him the way to running water. Hence a grateful knight, a burn named from the wedder's kindly deed and a house of Wedderburn of Wedderburn. A simple tale of a grandmother much more to our taste than the essay of our own times which would let the Wedderburn spring muddy from its source in 'two Scandinavian proper names—*Veder and Bjorn*.'

The first Wedderburn on record is found amongst the lesser barons in the Ragman Roll of 1296, the famous document in which the greater and lesser barons of Scotland swore fealty to *nostre cbier seignor* Edward I. King of England. There are those who hold that these politic souls betrayed

their country ; there are none who doubt that their action gave their Scottish descendants a document of the highest historical value. Sir Arthur Wardour of Knockwinnock pointed proudly to the fact that his own ancestor's name was on the Ragman Roll, but Sir Arthur's further assertion that the ancestral name was there signed by the ancestral hand was one which we marvel at Mr. Oldbuck's passing without question. Here at least we have, as Mr. Wedderburn remarks, the earliest recorded mention of many old Scots families, and here we have *Wautier de Wedderburne del counte de Edeneburk*, a county which then took in parts of Berwickshire. His oath of fealty and loyalty is sealed by Walter of Wedderburn with a seal bearing a device which is described as a star with seven rays.

From Walter of Wedderburn we count nearly seventy years to the next occurrence of the name in Scottish records until the time when a juror, upon an inquest taken in 1364 in the town of Lumesden, is described as John de Wedderborne and seals with a seal of arms bearing an engrailed cheveron between three roses or cinquoils. One more reference to the name is found in 1375 or thereabouts, when Robert Ayr, resigning the lands of Fastforland in Berwickshire, attests his resignation with the clause, common at that date, that as his own seal is not well known he has leave to attach that of a noble man, William of Wedirburn. The seal has however gone the ways of most seals. Three documents then give us three Wedderburns and all that we have of the name before the fifteenth century.

The first half of the fifteenth century gives us several references to a William of Wedderburn, or to one or more persons of the name, and notably to William of Wedderburn, esquire, tutor of young Swinton of that ilk, son of John Swinton who slew Thomas of Clarence at Beaugé in 1421 and died at Verneuil in 1424, battles which Mr. Wedderburn, whose industry seems to have flagged a little before his mass of proof sheets, prints as Brangé and Vermoil. The last of these William Wedderburns is witness to a grant of Berwickshire lands in 1452.

Closes the fifteenth century, and the sixteenth is again to show the scantiness of material for a history of a Scottish family not of the main line and the first flight of the great historic houses. But two references are forthcoming to Wedderburns of the borderside, one to a Dame Isobel

Wedderburne, a signatory in 1532 and 1539, and the other to David Wetherburne of 1573, in whom we have the first of this border family who wins public notice in the native craft or industry of cattle lifting.

All this time the lands of Wedderburn are in the hands of strangers to the name. In 1420 Wedderburn is in the hands of Sir David Home of Wedderburn, and with his descendants in the female line, through Tod, Foreman and Milne, the lands of Wedderburn remain to-day. From Sir David Home of Wedderburn branched out the famous line of Home of Polwarth, Earls of Marchmont, and a score of cadet houses. In the day of Flodden Field a Sir David Home of Wedderburn fights with his seven sons, the 'seven spears of Wedderburn,' about him, the eldest son being slain with his father. Sir David Home, the first recorded of this line, died between 1450 and 1467—even so wide are our dates in a Scottish genealogy—and his wife Alice is called by tradition of no great weight the heir of the old Wedderburns of that ilk. Mr. Alexander Wedderburn would break this tradition by producing a document of one Sir David Home of Whedirburn dated in 1341, which, if it might be trusted, would show that Wedderburn had been for a century with the Homes before the time of Sir David the husband of Alice. But Mr. Wedderburn has not examined this document which he quotes on the authority of Raine's *History of North Durham*. The seal attached is described as bearing a shield of the Home lion with a ram's head crest and peacocks for supporters, and is altogether an impossible seal for such a date as 1341. Let us but assume that the date is an error for 1441, and we have a seal which will serve well enough as a seal for our Sir David, who dies before 1469. Therefore until a new fact comes forward Dame Alice may remain the heir of the old Wedderburns of that ilk for all those for whom a probability is authority enough.

In the fifteenth century it is time for a family which is to make any figure in the history of Scotland to plant its family tree. Mr. Wedderburn takes us to the roots of his own house of Wedderburn in the period between 1450 and 1500, when four heads of families of the name are flourishing at one time in Dundee, and between these and the Wedderburns of Berwickshire there is but one fragile link in the evidences and that link the seal of John Wedderburn in 1364

which bears a version of the arms to be born by these Wedderburns of Dundee.

The four houses were those of James Wedderburn of Dundee who died in 1514, Walter Wedderburn who dwelt in the Welgait of Dundee and died in 1520, David Wedderburn in the Murraygait, and Robert Wedderburn. Their children called cousins with one another, but the nature of the kinship of the four householders cannot be ascertained.

With the story of the descendants of these four householders of Dundee we shall deal in the next volume of *The Ancestor*. Meanwhile Mr. Wedderburn has our congratulations for a most masterly and accurate piece of bookmaking, which may well stand for an example to all Scots genealogists coming after him.

O. B.

TEN ENGLISH WILLS FROM THE ARCH- DEACONRY OF LONDON, 1400-1415¹

I. THE WILL OF JOHN TORELL²

IN the name of the fader and of the sone and of the holi gost amen. The Soneday in the feste of Seynt Jame the yere of our lord m^cccc [25 July, 1400] I John Torell of the diocise of London w^t hool thought of body and of herte and of mynde devyse my testament in this mannere Ferst I bequethe my sowle to God and to our lady seynte marie virgine and to alle holi seyntz and my body to be beried at London in Crichurch there the chanones ben be the autier of seynt Jon Also I devise x marc for divers despenses that shul ben don the day of my beryeng of whiche ten marc I wele that be bought vi torches Also I devise of thilke x marc to yeve vi pore men ich of hem a gowne and an hood to holde the torches atte my derige and the day of my beriynge and ich of hem that shalde the torches a bowte my body iiij^d Afterward I wele that iii torches dwelle to the heigh auter of Crychurch and a torche to the auter in our lady chapele in the same cherche and also a torche to the auter of Seynt John be for whiche I lie in the same cherche And also a vestement of blew damask for to synge inne every day at the same auter be for which my body shal lye And a torch to the heigh auter of seynt Kat'ine Colman the levying of the x marc I wele that it be do to v tapres and ii mortiers of wex and to the herce with al thyng ybought and yordeyned for the tyme Also I devise xijⁱⁱ for a prest to seye messe atte forseyd auter of seynt John in the same church there I am biryud twoyer lastyng for me and for my fadur and for my modur and al my gode doers and for alle tho that I am in dette to Also I wol that

¹ These wills are the first ten wills made in the English tongue which are found in the registers of this court. They are here printed for the sake of the exceptional interest of the English of London in which they are written and also for the sake of the light thrown by them upon dress, arms, household goods and customs of the period.—G. H.

² Register i. fo. 94.

the same prest that shal preye for my soule seye specialy the first yer a trental of seint Gregory Also I devise to the poure men that comen to my berynge xl^s every man ij^d Also I devise to the foure ordres of frerus of London every ordres of the foure v marc for as many masses and othur suffrages as mow be seid or don in a day for my soule Also I devise to the most poure men and woman that ligen bedrede xiiij^s iiij^d Also I devise to prisoners of Newgate of London xl^s Also I devise to the of Crichurche xx^s and to every chanon of the covent of the same chirche biforseid vj^s viij^d to singe and preie for me Also I biquethe to my lady the Countesse of Stafford Anne my primer Also I biquethe to my lady Isabelle of the menureses withouten Algat at London my sauter Also I biquethe to the abesse and the covent of the menureses biforseid xxvj^s viij^d Also I biquethe to Torell myn newew twey salers of silver Also I devise to my nece myn newewes wyf a litul tablet of gold with the trinite in the middul Also I bequethe to dame Jone seynt Nod menuresse of the forseid abbey xiiij^s iiij^d Also I bequethe to the persoun of seint Katerine Colman xiiij^s iiij^d Also I devise to Richard Stiward of the menureses myn aunber bedus and to Mergrete his wyf my corall bedus Also I bequethe to Jankyn Chamberleyn the beste girdul of myn that he wil chese and my baselard harnseysid with silver Also I bequethe to Prentys my second best girdul of silver also I bequethe to Arundell my girdul of silver with gotus hedus Also I biquethe to the ryngers and to the clerkus of Crichurche vj^s viij^d Also I biquethe to Sharp my servant couerlyt and a tapit and iij curtyns of red wostede a materas a canevas j p's blankettus and a peyre shetus that lyen on my bed j couerture of frisud russet lyned with blanket and a doublet with an haubergeon therinne and two marc of the whiche he shal take a noble of John Smyth of Horndon Also I biquethe to the forseide Sharp iii spones of silver Also touching an annuete of xl^s the whiche I have in Horndon duryng viij yer here aft^r as my dedus maken mencionun and an hous that I haue at Horndon in the maket place that I bilde my selfe and alle myn othur godus moeblus and not moeblus in whos hondes that thei ben I give fully to myn executours to do ther with and ordeine for the profyt of my soule after here discrecion and as most may be plesinge to god as I most truste in hem of alle othur in the cace and to the fulfillingge of my forseid wille I have ordeyned

and wol that myn executours ben Sire William Undurwode Richard Stiward of the menureses and S^r John Murydon and to be serviant and entendant to hem in this nede I have ordeyned the forseide Sharp to do his bisnesse to his power to echon of my forseid executours that is to seye William and Richard for here businesse aboute me I biquethe xx^s and to the forseide S^r John x^s and to my servant forseid as likuth that be to do bi the avys of myn executors also I devise a cheste to Crichurche to kepe in the vestiment biforseid

This will was proved 14 Jan. 140⁰₁ by the executors named in the will.

II. THE WILL OF JOAN CORAUNT¹

In the name of god Amen in the xix day in the moneth of Aprill on the yer of owre lorde m^occcc^oiiij^o I Johne Coraunt in my gode mynde and hool make my testament in this maner Firste I bequethe my sowle to Almighty god and my body to the erth to be beryed there the will es of my twey sones William and John Also my wille is to hafe aboute me atte my beryinge no more wex then o tapir atte the heed and a nother atte the fete atte the ordynaunce of my forsayd sones Also I bequeth vj yerdes of blak russet cloth lygginge on me my beryinge tyme to be yovon to powre nedy folk and all other doynges about my terement and mynde I will it be don at onys sympli and with outen pryde withinne two dayes after my dyinge be the ordynaunce of my sones and all the residue of my goode when my dettes and the costages of my buryinge be payd I bequethe and yeve to my forsayde sones to do therwith as hir owne but that John my sone hafe the first choys and the necessities resydwes fastned and longinge to my howsold. Executores I ordeyne the forsayd John and William Writen the day and the yer abouesayd This testament es proved before us official of oure lorde the Archedeken of London viii^o Idus of Decembre the yer of oure lord god abovensayd [6 Dec. 1403] and power es committyd for to mynyster all the godes in the forsayd testament beholdynge unto the executours with inne named and also before sworn in forme of the lawe and don be thaym and admitted

¹ Register i. fo. 113.

III. THE WILL OF RICHARD MYMMES, CITIZEN AND JOINER¹

In dei nomine amen I Richard Mymmes joynor and cytezeyn of London in the x day of June the yer of oure lord ihesu a m'cccc and foure in good and hool mynde beyng and thynkyng of my goodis and catell meuables and on meuables make myn testament in this manere the qweche folwith. First I bequethe my soule to almyghty god and his blissed moder oure lady seynt marie and to all the holy company of hevene and my body to be beryett in the church of seynt Jame of Garlekhithe be for the ymage of seynt Cristofre if god vouche-saff them I beqwethe to the same church for my lyging iij^s iiij^d Item I beqwethe be my devyse ij taprys of wex every taper of iij li to brenne at my sepulture the ton tapur to brenne at myn hede the other at my feet and that other tape^r to the bem lith and that other to the sepulcre lyg'h Item I bequethe be my devyse ij torches to brenne at my sepultur and at myn dirige and eche morwe after the same torches to brenne before the heye awter fro the bygynnyng of the masse of requiem in to the last ende Item I beqwethe that on torche to the parochiens to brenne befor the hye auter and that other to the brether hede of Seynt Jame of Garlekhithe Item I bequethe to xij pore men of the same parysh evereych of hem ij^d Item I bequethe to the parson of the same church be for sayd for offerynges that ben foryete in myn lachesse vj^s viij^d Item I bequethe to the same parson of the same church ij^s in condicion that he seye all the service over me that longet to the sacrament of ~~bapteme~~ (*sic*) beryeng Item I bequethe to euery prest syngyng in that same church iiij^d Item I bequethe to the maister clerk for ryngyng of my knell and making of my put xij^d Item I bequethe to the underclerk for his travayle vj^d Also I bequethe to Jone my wif and to myne childryn all myn other goodes except the a forn bequethe in condicioun that she paye myn dettes Of myn testament I make and ordeyne myne executurs Jone my wif and William Withman joynor that thei wel and treweleche fulfill my last will as thei thenke best for helthe of my soul in the wich thyng Witnessyng of this same testiment of my last will i putte to my seal Wrote the day and the dat of oure lord befor seyd

Proved 6 Nov. 1405 by the executors named in the will

¹ Register i. 147.

IV. THE WILL OF JONET BYLNEY¹

In the name of god amen the xij day of January the yere of owr lord a m^{leccc}_{iiij} and vj I Jonet Bylney beyng in good memory ordeyne my wyl in this maner Ferst I bequethe my sowle to god and to owre lady and to alle y^e holy halghwen of hevene and my body to be beryed in the parysch of Stanynglane Also I bequethe to Jonet my suster my beste cote my cloke my reed hood tweyne of my best kercherys and a foser Also I bequethe to Mergrete that kepte me my tauney cote a coverlyt a peyr schetys a tauney kyrtel a cawdrun and for hyre travaley iij^s iiij^d Also I bequethe to olde Mergery yn Stanynglane my blak cote a kercher of yred Also I bequethe to Alison Stanys my blewe kertell and I wele that John Trenchem and John Scot be myn executors and the resydwe of good I wele that thei have yt and ordeyne for me as thenkytgh best for to do therwyth

Proved 1 Feb. 140⁷ by the executors named in the will.

V. THE WILL OF HERRY BENET²

In nomine patris filii et spiritus sancti Amen I Herry Benet bequethe my soule to god almyghty and to our lady And to all the compeny of hevene and my body to lygge at poulys by my tuesday sonys a fore the Crosse And also wan I am ded ij taperys standyn on at myn hed and another at my fete both of x lb. and non other light but smale candelys And the on taper brenne by fore Mary Maudeleyn while hit will laste wyle the pryst ys at messe and that other at seynt Thomas Apostyl And I be quethe my sone Willyam xij peyr schetys of Coleyn and iij scherbordys an ascraye and iiij rupschoys and iiij peyr hanettes a aprese an presebordys a muster bordys and viij sponys of sylver yknottyd and vj sponys of sylver with acrys a bolle of sylver and pece of sylver and maser with a dobyll bonde and ij the beste maserys nex to that And iij the best brasse pottys and iij the best pannys and ij possenettes and a querne a dossen peuter dysschys and half a dossen platerys and vj dossen sausers a iij peuter pottes and ij salers of coper and iij borde clothys and iij toweyll and x peyr schetes and a coverlite of Northeholke of Worted and tester a coverlite of tapycer worke and ij chalons and ij blankettes and ij halles of tapycer werke of blewe a half a dossen quysschenys of

¹ Register i. 167.

² Register i. p. 194.

blewe and ij basonys and ij laverys and iiij chargyons a ij schaftys an clyppyngscherys and god hys blessing and myn Al ye remlant of my good to my wyf for to quyte my dettys And my wyf and my sone to be my seketourys and more ovre to Willyam my sone the counter that I ete apon and a sesterne of led

Proved 30 Nov. 1407 by the executors named in the will.

VI. THE WILL OF DENYS BENET¹

In the name of the fadir and sone and the holy gost amen I Denys Benet somtyme the wyffe of Henry Benet in gode mynde beyng make my testament In this maner Ferst I be quethe my sowle to almyghty god and to hys blessid modir Seynt Marie and to alle the holy compenye of hevene and my body to [be] beryed In Seint Powls churcheyrd be my housbonde Also I be quethe and yeve to William Benet my sone alle my godys wheche y^t the forseyd Herry myn housbonde by quath to me all holyche also I bequethe to William my sone the yeris y^t ben to come of myn aprentys Thomas Parys hym for to governe and for to kepe in terme of hys prentyhed like as aprentys of the same craft owyth to be founde and atte hys yerys ende the forseyd William my sone to yeve hym Thomas a par of shetis and also the forseyd William my sone to bryng me to herthe and so for to do for hys fadirsowe and for myn as he wolde we dede for hys and Cristys blessing and myn al so he for fynde theyn childryn Herry and Watkyn tyl they ben of wyt to kepe himself also the same William my sone for to do for my sowle anonne as I passed a trent of massis for my housbondes soule and for myn and for alle Cristen soules and the same William my sone I make myn sector of this testement

Proved 1 April 1409 by the executor named in the will.

VII. THE WILL OF AGNES SPICER²

In the name of god Amen. I Agnes Spicer in good mynde I make my testament in this maner Furst I by quethe my soule to god almyghty And to his blessed moder seint Marie and to alle the compenye of hevene And my body to byried in the church of seint Austyns under the belle ropes Also y by quethe to the hye auter of Seint Austyns xx^d Also

¹ Register i. fo. 211.

² Register i. fo. 237.

I by quethe to the maister clerk of seint Austyns viij^d and to the under clerc iiij^d Also y wole that a brason mortar with a pestel of yren be y sold and ydon for my hosebond is soule and myn Also y wole that a pece of selver and vj spones of selver and j girdel of selver harnesid thorw out be ysold and don for Geffrey my housebond is soule and myn Also y by quethe to Agnes my doughter a peire bedes of geet y gaudet with selver and a gowne of rede medlee lynyd with blewe carde and also j gowne of russet y furred with coneyes The residue of all my goodes y yeue frely to Agnes my doughter that is for to seie all my bras pottes and pannes and putre vessell and all my bedyng and all my good in my schop And of this testament I make myn executor Simond Prentout I wrete atte London xv day of Septembre in y^e yer of our lord mⁱ cccc x

Proved 12 Dec. 1410 by the executor named in the will.

VIII. THE WILL OF JOHN HENDY¹

I John Hendy willyng and desiring to be quethe to God and and holy churche y^e testor off a whit bedde to seint Stevenes awter and the body off the same testor to myn wif and also the beddyng that I have ther with all so that sho wele be governed after myn aunte also Also to myn wife xx peces off pewter vessell with a basyn and a laver And also y be quethe myn ronde basyn to Agnes West And to myn wife i girdill and i dagger And also I willing and desiring to have myn executors myn wif and Agnes West witnessing Robert Aston and John Bristowe And also I be quethe to do for my sawle a arblast and iij c of quarell therto Also to John Hauwood an hode with a palet Also to the churche a towyl for the lavetory Also to myn wife a bord cloth Also to Robert Taillour myn bowe and myn arwe And also to John Bristowe myn swerd

Proved 18 Feb. 141 $\frac{2}{3}$ by the executrix named in the will.

IX. THE WILL OF RICHARD EDWARD²

In dei nomine Amen I Richard Edward in gode helle and gode mynde on the eve of the natyvite of o^r lady be quathe my sowele to gode and to o^r lady and to al the com-

¹ Register i. fo. 279.

Register i. fo. 296.²

pany of heven and my body to be beryd in the churchhawe of seint Benet Fynk Also I be quethe the parson Item the clerk iiij^d Item I quethe to Malyn my wyfe al my good after that my testament es ful fillid And here I make myn executrice These wyttens Robert of Ely tailor William Malpas

Proved 9 Sep. 1413 by the executrix named in the will.

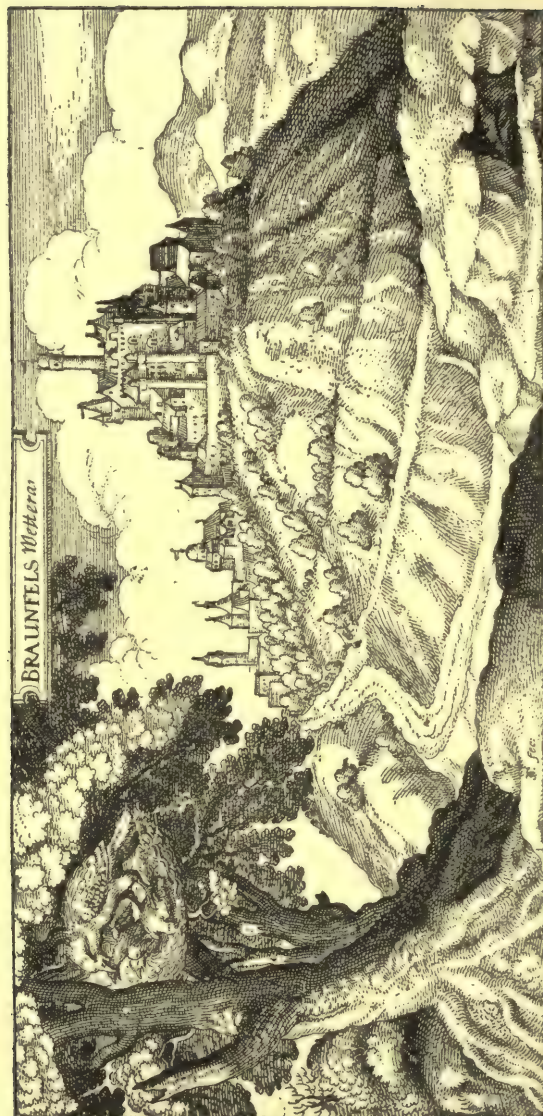
X. THE WILL OF PIERS SALLE, DRAPER ¹

In dei nomine Amen Y Piers Salle draper make my testament in this maner in my good mynde and hole Fyrst y be quethe my sowle to god and to howr lady seint Marie and to alle the cumpanye of heven and my body to be beried in cristen biriell Also y ordayne myn executors Emund Salle my brother draper of London Thomas of Birye and Beatrice my wyfe fo to resseyve my dettis and paye my dettis and the ramnaunt of my good y be quethe to hem for to dispoce for my sowle as they wolde y dede for hem the date is of owr lorde m'cccc^{mo} xv yer the reygne of Kynke Herry the Fyfthe after the conquest the thirde made in the day of seint Matheu the apostill.

Proved 24 Sep. 1415 by the executors named in the will.

G. H.

¹ Register i. fo. 333.



AN OLD GERMAN FAMILY HISTORY

IN Germany, more than in any other country, family ties are strong, and so it happens that it is more common for a German than it is for a English middle-class family to possess old records containing interesting details as well as the mere list of names and dates. Such a family history has been handed down for the last 300 years in the writer's family—professing to give an account of the family for the previous four centuries. This 'stamm-buch,' as it is called in German, is a MS. of some forty folio pages, its yellow leaves closely written in the very antiquated and curious phraseology of the sixteenth century.

It was composed in the year 1587 by the gallant knight Johann Schott von Schottenborn within the walls of the stately castle of Braunfels, which towered picturesquely on a hill above the village, and was the home of the great family of Solms, lords under the Holy Roman Empire of the county which bore their name.

This knight, Johann Schott, then set to work to write down for the benefit of posterity all that he had heard of his ancestry from his father and from aged relatives.

He added a too brief account of his own adventurous life. Perhaps it was a prophetic sense of foreboding that led him to begin his family history just before setting out on what proved to be his last campaign when he was 'setting forth with the Count Eberhard of Solms into France against the Papists and tyrants. God give us all good fortune on our side!'

The story is this: that first of all his forefathers lived at the village in the Vogelsberg hills in Hesse, called after them Schotten, and that they were descendants, as the name implies, of those Scottish settlers who came in the train of two Scottish princesses in the year 1015. Whether these ladies came from what we now call the Western Highlands of Scotland or belonged to the kindred Scots of Ireland cannot now be solved.

From Schotten these Scoti or Schotts came to a village

near Dillenburg in Hesse called Eysenrodt, and the writer traces his descent from the first of these, Heinrich Schott, who, he says, owned land and charcoal furnaces for smelting iron at Eysenrodt in the early part of the twelfth century.

Then he tells how the great-grandson of this Heinrich had fourteen sons, who scattered over Germany to seek their fortunes, like the families of brothers in the fairy tales of Grimm, and how one of the brothers settled at Braunfels and founded the line which was settled there for the next 300 years.

He begins as follows :—

Here follows an account by me, Johann Schotten, living at Hattville in Lorraine, fifteen Lorraine miles from Metz, the same number of miles from Pont à Mousson, also five miles from St. Michel.

On the side of the Moselle towards St. Michel lies Hattville, near a hamlet and a castle¹ with a large lake called La Chouhe (La Chaussée), which belongs to the Duke of Lorraine.

Now I will write briefly and set forth in this document the ancestry of the Schotts according to what I have heard from my father who is dead, and also from an old dame of the Eysenrodt branch, who died at the age of one hundred and five years, and from what I have heard, too, from other good people.

Eysenrodt is situated near the Driegenstein, one mile distant from Dillenburg, under the noble Counts of Katzenellenbogen.

As I write this I am past 46½ years of age being at Braunfels in the year 1587 of the Old Calendar.

First of all there lived at Eysenrodt near Driegenstein three men, successively named Heinrich Schott, who had iron mines in the forest and farmed their land. The iron mines, moreover, were their own property, for there exists to this day a spring which is called the 'Schotten-Brunnen' in remembrance of this family.

From the last Heinrich Schott came Claus Schott who left fourteen sons and four daughters about four hundred years from the present date, during which time there was a great war under the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa as history testifies and as old chronicles tell.²

Afterwards these fourteen sons parted from one another and went far and wide under other suzerains, for they could not remain longer on account of the war, and could not get any more charcoal for their furnaces as the woods

¹ The Castle of Hattonchatel, which came into the possession of the House of Lorraine about 1540.—S. H. S.

² Note by Johann Schott of Büdingen, 1652 : '*Nota.*—The first of this name (Frederick) with the surname Barbarossa waged many wars in Germany, especially in Saxony, for Henry the Lion had deserted the Emperor and had gone over to the Pope. Henry appeared before Milan, ravaged the country and slew the Emperor's officers. Thereupon the Emperor made war upon him and deprived him of his country and title which he gave to the Margrave Bernard of Anhalt—anno Christi 1180.

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were nearly all felled and destroyed, and even apart from that the country around Eysenrodt is so poor that trees will not grow well.

These fourteen sons all fared well, and one of them went to Braunfels and was named Christian Schott. The other thirteen scattered far and wide over the country. They married and begot heirs. Some remained in the Wetterau; one went into the country of Hesse, where he obtained fiefs from the Landgrave and began to build mills; one went into Saxony, one to Herborn, one or two went to Frankfort, one went to Mainz; three went to Worms, and from Worms they went afterwards to Strassburg. Here one became ammeister (chief magistrate), and one a doctor who was called Peter Schott and lies buried in the Carthusian monastery. Another of the family went to Heidelberg to the Court of the Count Palatine and was named Hans Schott. One, too, settled in Franconia, who was knighted. From him are descended knights who still hold estates in Franconia.¹

Now follows further concerning Christian Schott who came to Braunfels and lived there very comfortably. He had sons and daughters and left a son named Heinrich Schott; again this Heinrich left behind him a son also named Heinrich Schott. After this Heinrich² there lived one Emmerich Schott, a noble and upright man. He was for about three-and-thirty years 'rent-meister' (steward) at Braunfels till his death in 1484.

Johann Schott proceeds to tell in detail of the sons and daughters of Emmerich, and again of their children and grandchildren. We are concerned with only two of the five sons: Johann of Diedenhofen, the progenitor of the English family, and Thomas the youngest son, who married a lady of an old knightly family named Anna Reinolin Peters, by whom he was the father of the writer of the history.

This is the account of the life of Johann Schott written by himself:—

When I Johann Schott von Schottenborn was in Hungary under the Lord Lazaro von Schwendi,³ in the upper circle of Hungary on the borders of Transylvania, I was asked by von Schwendi himself on the field of battle if I were of knightly family. I answered him that I did not know. He again asked me where my family had dwelt. I answered him, 'under the Counts of Nassau-Saarbrücken and Dillenburg, also under the Lords of Solms.'

'And what has been their occupation?' I answered, 'My grandfather was steward at Braunfels and the main branch of my family have for the most

¹ Are these the Schotts von Schottenstein?—S. H. S.

² There is an obvious discrepancy here between the number of generations and the time which is covered between Claus (circa 1180) and Emmerich. *Siebmacher's Wappenbuch* and the *Nobiliaire de Lorraine* give Mathias and Mathieu respectively as the great-grandfather of Johann Schott of Braunfels. Probably this generation was omitted in copying the MS.—S. H. S.

³ Commander-in-Chief in Hungary of the Emperor Maximilian II. in 1564.

part lived in the same place for the last three hundred years, and have been good and honourable people who of choice occupied themselves in agriculture and the breeding of cattle.'

Then said von Schwendi that he would make me a knight. But this honour I declined at that time with all gratitude.

Soon afterwards peace was made between the Turks and the Emperor, consequently there was peace in Hungary. I was three years in Hungary, at first among the lanz-knechts as a doppel-söldner.¹ Afterwards I came to the Lord Lazaro von Schwendi as his squire. After peace had been concluded I returned to Lorraine on a yearly salary to my old lord Peter von Harracurt, lord of Schemley, and stayed with him with my beautiful Hungarian horse.

Afterwards in the year 1570, my lord Count Johann von Solms helped me to enter the service of the Duke of Lorraine as an Archer of the Guard under Duke Charles who then still lived. The same knighted me afterwards in the same year. He gave me a shield and helmet; a white English running greyhound with a red collar on which are five golden bosses. A leash half gold, half red silk, holds the greyhound to a sphere or ball. The helmet with four feathers of the four colours—Blue, Silver-white, Red and Golden-yellow. And he granted me all the privileges of one of the nobility in his domains, and the Duke requested all kings, princes and lords to let me pass as one of the nobility or knightly rank as they have been called since olden times, just as his sovereign highness would also do to those who came into his country.

In truth I have had to suffer so much in my time that it might seem hardly possible that I should still be alive. But Almighty God has wonderfully protected me till the present time. God grant further His goodness and mercy to His poor Christendom, that it may come into good peace and amity, and plant in it the truth of His Holy Gospel of the Eternal Word, and frustrate and confound the tyrannical Popes and the unreformed Church, for then we might offer a great resistance to the Turks.

Then follows an epilogue—a fierce religious rhapsody, which recounts a vision which came to the young soldier one night as he lay sick during one of his early campaigns in France.

'Le Dieu le Fort Eternel parleray,' are his last words.

Johann Schott married a wife of good family in Lorraine, and through her became possessed of the chateau at Hattonville near Nancy and Metz, which was his home when he wrote his history just before his death in his forty-seventh year.

He followed Count Eberhard of Solms to join Henry of Navarre and the French Huguenots in 1587 in the war against the Holy League, and returned from the wars to die shortly afterwards at his chateau, probably from sickness contracted during the campaign.

¹ The doppel-söldner is a military rank—the 'miles-duplicarius' is depicted with a captain, standard-bearer, etc., in Bertelli's *Book of Costumes*, 1594.

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The genealogy is continued by Johann Schott's cousin, Hans Georg Schott, who arranged the knight's papers and rent accounts in 1598, and again in 1652 by 'the noble learned' Johann Schott of Büdingen, nephew of Hans Georg.

Johann Schott of Büdingen lived amid the terrors of the Thirty Years' War and followed his lord into exile and poverty after the disastrous battle of Nördlingen. During his exile several of his children died of the plague. At the close of his life however peace brought prosperity again, and he died full of years and honour in 1661.

He left two sons, Philip, Captain-lieutenant of Dragoons in the army of Gustavus Adolphus and afterwards burgomaster of Hanau, and Hans Georg, ensign of foot and of horse in the same service. For his sons was printed the elaborate sermon preached at their father's funeral. This curious 'leichpredig' enlarges on the virtues of the deceased with lengthy scriptural allusion and poetical flourish, and recapitulates the story of his descent from the old Schott stock.

The English family are descended, not from Johann Schott von Schottenborn who died without heirs, but from his cousin Adam Schott of Niederkleen, son of Johann Schott of Diedenhofen previously mentioned.

Adam Schott was from 1562-83 'Centgraf' or head of the Criminal Court of a 'hundred.' 'He married at Niederkleen in Huttenberg Christine Endstein von Dotzenheim (whom he used to call his "precious child"), daughter of his predecessor in office, of a knightly and honourable family of Dotzenheim near Wiesbaden, connected with the old noble family of von Meidten.' There is extant an interesting letter of Adam Schott, showing his arms on the seal, in which he tells his liege of Nassau of the entertainment prepared for him when his lord comes to receive homage.

Adam had several sons, of whom the second was Peter, b. 1549, d. 1596.

After foreign travel he succeeded his father as Centgraf at Neiderkleen. He married Anna, daughter of Laurentius Stephani, superintendent of the diocese of Nassau-Weilburg. He had previously been chaplain in the field in the Netherlands in 1570 with Count Albrecht of Nassau-Weilburg.

For the life of Stephani see the histories of Nassau and Keller's *History of the Reformation*. He was the father of the still more noted Gottfried Stephani.

The second son of Peter was Johann Martin, b. 1578, d. 1622, generally known as Magister Joannes Martinus Scotius. Educated at the University of Giessen, he was pastor of Wiesbaden ; married Maria Margarethe, daughter of Tobias Weber, Doctor of Philosophy of Marburg University and superintendent of the Idstein diocese.

For particulars of Dr. Tobias Weber see his published diary, Keller's *History of the Reformation* and *History of the Thirty Years' War*.

With Johann Martin ends the record of the old family history, but the later generations have been handed down in a genealogical tree made about 1770, and the particulars have been verified by reference to the Church books and other sources of information at Idstein and at Frankfort.

The only son of Johann Martin was Johann Friedrich, b. 1621, d. 1684 ; citizen of Idstein ; m. Apollonia Vorst, maid of honour to the Princess of Nassau-Idstein.

His fourth son was Johann Christopher of Idstein, b. 1668, d. 1733 ; m. Maria Dorothea Sattler.

His fourth son was Wilhelm Leonhard of Idstein ; m. Susanna Margarethe Schlosser.

His second son was Johann Daniel, b. 1739, d. 1814 ; an officer in the Russian army ; afterwards in right of his wife, Anna Catherina Schenck, became in 1778 patrician of the Free City of Frankfort a/M.

His third son was Johann Daniel of Frankfort, b. 1787, d. 1874 ; m. Catherina Nopp.

His eldest son was John George, b. 1815, d. 1854 ; came to England in his eighteenth year ; m. an English wife, Sarah Ann, daughter of James Kinder of Manchester, and left four sons and four daughters.

The writer of this article is the grandson of John George. In 1885 the name 'Schott' was legally anglicized as 'Scott.'

S. H. SCOTT.

A FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOK OF ARMS

[Continued]

Azure two dances gold. TOMAS DELAREWER. *Barkechyre.*

Gold three eagles gules. TOMAS BAYNARD. *Wylchyre.*

Sable a lion silver with an orle of crosslets silver. ROBARDE LANGE. *Wylchyre.*

Gules a cheveron silver between three bull heads—the bolle bedys sylvyr the bornys gold. TOMAS BULLOK. *Barkechyre.*

Sable six fleurs de lys gold. RAWFE LEUEHAM. *Barkechyre.*

Silver a cheveron sable between iij ravyn bedys rased of sabyll with three crescents upon the cheveron. JOHN NORRYS. *Barkechyre.*

Ermine four bends azure. TOMAS FACCHELL. *Barke chyre.*

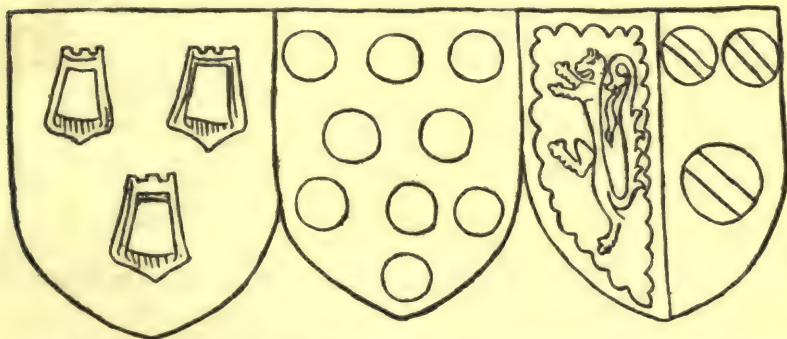
Gules a bend silver with iij lebardys bedys of sabyll rasyd the tongys gold. JOHN BERREWE. *Hampchyre.*

Azure a cheveron ermine between three leopards' heads gold. JOHN BASKET. *Hampchyre.*

Gules three crescents gold and a quarter ermine [COOKE] quartered with gold a cross azure. RYCHARDE COOKE. *Sousexchyre.*

Sable vj lyonseuse of gold. JOHN COLYNGTON. *Sousexchyre.*

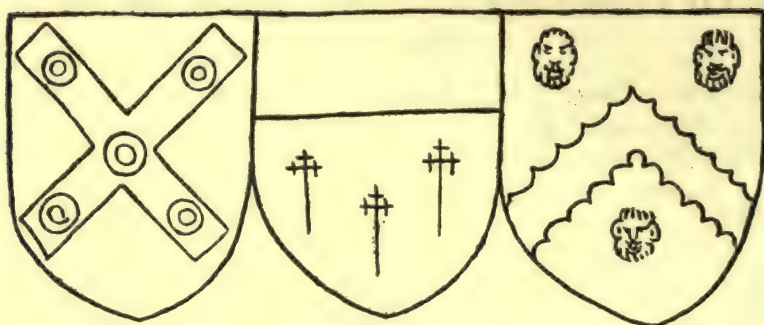
Gules a cheveron sylvyr and sabyll checche between three fleurs de lys gold. JOHN SHYRLEY. *Sothereychyre.*



Azure iij steroppys of golde [a GIFFARD coat]. WYLYAM KNYGHTLEY. *North hampton chyre.*

Silver with roundels of gules. GYFFORDE. *Hampchyre.*

Gold a lion gules with a border sable engrailed [POMEROY] impaled with silver three roundels sable each with a bend silver [BEVILE]. EDWARD POWMBRAY of *Deveneschyre.* [EDWARD POMEROY of Berry, who died in 1446].



Silver a saltire sable, trunked at the ends, with five rings of gold.
NYCOLAS UPTON of Wylchyre.

Gules three crosslets fitchy gold and a chief gold. *TOMAS ARDARNE. Derby chyre.*

Silver a cheveron gules engrailed between three leopards' heads azure the tongys of gowlys. *JOHN COPPYLSTONE of Dvene chyre.*



Gules a *frett of sylwyr* and a quarter silver. *TOMAS HAWLEY of Dewenechyre.*

Gold a cheveron sable between three antelopes' heads sable *spottyd w^t gowlys* and cut off at the neck, with a crescent for difference. *WYLYAM WYLYNGHAM. Warrewyke chyre.*

Gules a quarter azure with a fesse silver battled on both sides, quartered with *owndy sylwyr and gowlys* with a sable border bezanty. *TOMAS PORTER of Swlbyll, Warrewyk chyre.*

Silver a saltire gules with a millrind cross silver. THE PRYORE
OF KYLMAYNE OF YRLANDE.

Gules a lion ermine with a forked tail. SIR WYLYAM OLDE-
HALE. *Lyncolle chyre.*

Sable three bars wavy silver with a quarter gules. BROKYSBY.
Notyngbamchyre.

Gules crusilly gold with three luces silver. SIR WATYR
LEWCY.

Silver two cheverons azure. SIR JOHN BACCOD [BAGOT].
Notyngbam chyre.

Gules a lion gold with a bend of silver and azure gobony.
WYLYAM HYLL. *Somerset chyre.*

Azure a fesse silver between three leopards' heads gold.
MAYSTER ROBARD BEAUMONT. *Northbwmberlond.*

Silver a bend sable with three popyngays of gold—a crescent
for difference. [Below the shield is written *w^t a bordor
of sabyll engrelyd.*] JOHN COURSUN. *Warrewyk chyre.*

Azure a cheveron silver between two cocks silver in the chief
and a lion's head rased gold in the foot. TOMAS BAN-
BERY. *Hampchyre.*

Silver a saltire sable. SIR WYLYAM WYNDESORE. *Lancaster
chyre.*

Quarterly indented silver and gules. SIR FOWKE FITZ-
WAREYNGE of *Dorsett chyre.*

Gold a saltire and a chief gules. SIR ROBARD BRUS.

Gold two cheverons gules and a quarter gules. SIR TOMAS
KYRYELL. *Kent chyre.*

Gules two bars gold. SIR ROBARD HARCOURT. *Oxynford
chyre.*

Azure three cheverons gold. SIR RYCHARD LEUGENORE of
Sowsexchyre.

Gules a fesse checkered gold and azure with a ring of gold
in the quarter. JOHN WETYNGTON. *Worcester chyre.*

Azure a cheveron gold between three lozenges gold. JOHN
HYDE. *Northampton chyre.*

Silver a cheveron gules between three boars' heads sable.
SABERTON of *Kent chyre.*

Silver three cocks gules. SIR JOHN COKKYNE of *Derby chyre.*

Azure a sun gold. TOMAS DELAHAYE of *Herfordchyre.*

Gowlys ij fecys sylvyr and asewre werre. SIR TOMAS BEAUMONT
of *Devenechyre.*

Gold a bend sable with three horseshoes sable. CHAUMBRUN.

Azure powdered with fleurs de lys of silver a leopard rampant silver, with a crescent for difference. SIR JOHN HOLLAND of *Thropwater, Norhampton chyre.*

Silver two bars gules with three roundels gules in the chief. WYLYAM WAKE. *Norhampton chyre.*

Sable a cheveron silver and a chief indented silver. ROgger OF THORYNTON of *Northbumberland.*

Silver a fesse sable and three chessrooks sable. RYCHARDE SWLSAM of *Lancaster chyre.*

Quarterly gules and vair with a bend gold. CONESTABYLL of *Flaynborowe.*

Silver a fesse gules with three roundels gules in the chief. SIR WATYR DEWERSE [DEVEREUX] of *Herfford chyre.*

Silver a bend sable with three popinjays gold. JOHN CORSUN [CURZON] of *Derbychyre.*

Silver a lion sable with an orle of roses gules. SIR NYCOLL PERPOYNT of *Derby chyre.*

Silver a chief gules with a lion gold over all.¹ JAFFEREY CHAWCERY [CHAUCER] of *Oxynford chyre.* At the foot of the page is tricked a shield of gules with a silver wheel which is to be *qwartly wyth Chawcrys.* A note in a later hand [sixteenth century] adds that *this is ment for Sir Payn Roet whos dau. Chauser marr. but it should be g. 3 wheles or.*

Silver a cheveron sable between three hunting horns sable. TOMAS CORNEW of *Devenechyre.*

Gold three bars azure. RICHARD OF ASKE. *Yorkchyre.*

Silver three bends, one azure, one gold and one sable, joined together to make a bend of three colours, quartered with silver a cheveron gules between three spearheads sable. WYLYAM HARDY of *York chyre.*

Azure a fret gold. THOMAS BRAKYNBERY of *the byschoppe ryke of Derbam.*

Silver a fesse sable with three eagles silver. GORGE POPELEY. *Yorke chyre yn Crawyn* [Craven].

¹ Thomas Chaucer bore for arms the three wheels of Roet quartering this lion coat (which is for Burghersh). The quartered shield is shown upon his brass at Ewelme. Geoffrey Chaucer's own shield is found earlier in the roll.



Quarterly i. and iv. France with a border gobony quartered with bendy with a border (which border a note at the side rightly describes as plain). In the fourth quarter the border round the arms of France has been left out. ii. and iii. party []. A scutcheon over all with the lion of Flanders. DEUKE DE BOURGOYNE.

France quartered with gold a dolphin azure. LE DOLFFYNE DE FRAUNCE.

France with a silver label [drawn with three points but described as having *v poyntys*]. LE DEUK DE ORLYAUNCE.



The old coat of France and a bordure gules with roundels of silver. DEUKE DE LAUNCON.

Gold an eagle party gules and sable. DEUKE DE [BERRY altered to] TROPE.

Azure powdered with crosslets two barbel of gold back to back. DEUKE DE ANGERYS. [DEWK DE BARE is written above.]



A quartered coat. i and iv—Burelly gold and gules [altered in the blazon to barry] impaling crusilly two barbel back to back [BAR]. ii and iii—gules a silver lion with a forked tail and a golden crown. Over all an escutcheon with a lion. DEWKE DE BAYRE [DEWKE DE HEYNYSBERY is written above].

The crowned 'biscia' swallowing a man [VISCONTI]. DEWKE DE MELAN.

Ermine. DEWKE DE BRYTANYE.

Silver a crowned lion gules with a forked tail. COUNT DE SEYNTPOULE.

Gold a bend gules with three *merlettys of sylvyr splayed*. DEWKE DE LOREYNE. A note gives the birds as eagles. They are drawn with crow-like beaks but otherwise after the usual manner of the 'alerions' of Lorraine.

Gules a cross silver. SEYNT DENYSE DE FRAUNCE.

Silver a heart gules and a chief azure with three pierced molets gold. THE ERLE OF DOWGGLES *yn Scotland*.

Gold a lion sable. COUNT DE FLAUNDREYS.

Azure *ijj garbys of comyn* of gold. THE ERLE OF BOWHAN [BUCHAN].

Azure *seme de flourdelyce o, golde* with a bend gules. DEWKE DE BORBONE.

The old coat of FRANCE with a border engrailed gules. DEWKE DE BERRY.

Gules a scutcheon of silver with a charbocle of gold over all. DEWKE DE CLEVE.

Silver three mastiffs sable. JOHN MARTYNE *of Kent chyre*.

Gules a cheveron vair between three roses gold. JOHN BORDEWYLE *of [Sowsex Chyre corrected to] Kent*.

Silver a cheveron gules between three rings of gules. JOHN GORYNGE of [*Sowsex* corrected to] *Kent*.

Sable a cheveron ermine between three swans' heads rased silver. J. MAWDEBY.

Silver a lion gules and a bend sable with three crosslets fitchy silver thereon. WYLYAM WATTON. *Kent chrye*.

Gules a bend engrailed silver. SIR GYLYS DAWBANAY.

Gules a cross silver between twelve crosslets fitchy silver.

NYCOLAS BROKHULL. *Kent chyre*.

Gules three cinquefoils ermine. JOHN KENTWOOD.

Barry silver and sable and a quarter sable with a leopard's head gold. JOHN BEKKE of [*Sowsex* corrected to] *Kent*.

Our Lady with the Child in her arms. THE BANER OF OWRE LADY.

Party silver and sable with the image of Christ with outstretched arms as if upon the cross. SEYNT BARTHELMEW SPYTTYLL.

A crosslet fitchy set in a winged pedestal and a chief with these words *ave gracia plena*. OWRE LADY ARMY.

Silver three lions passant looking backward with their tails between their legs. PRYNCE OF WALYS. [In a later hand *Ho'll dda.*]

Gold two griffins legs sable rased and lying barways. BRYGRAC EN GYAN.

Checkered gold and azure with a cheveron ermine. SIR GYE OF WARREWYK.

Silver a chief gules and three roses countercoloured. SIR BEWYS OF HAMPTON.

Azure three lions' heads rased gold. SIR GAWAYNE *the good knight*.

The shield of Mortimer. ERLE OF MARCHE.

Azure three open horse-breys of gold and a chief ermine with a demi-lion gules. COUNT DE GENEWYLE.

Party gold and vert with a lion gules. COUNT DE [BOKYNGHAM struck out and NORFOLK written in a later hand]. ERLE BIGOT.

Burelly gules and silver and a chief silver with three lions sable. Over this coat has been painted a sort of charbole of gold whose ends join a very narrow golden border. COUNT DE WALYNGEFORD.

Gyronny gold and gules (of twelve pieces) and a chief azure with a demi-leopard gold.

Paly silver and vert and a chief gold with an eagle sable. SIR
FRAUNCYS DE COURT. COUNT DE PENBROKE. A later
hand adds *Courcy*.

Azure bezanty a lion gold. [] *Yorkchyre*.

Burelly silver and azure with an orle of martlets gules. COUNT
DE PENBROOKE.

Gold three cheverons gules. COUNT DE GLOWCESTYR.

Azure three leopards' heads gold and a chief party gold and
azure indented. WYLYAM OF OXYNFORDE. *Yorke chyre*.

*Port de goullys tres jaumbis inne sayle eprone dore. The leggyss
sylvyr the sporrys and the kneys golde. The armys of the
ILE OF MAN.*

Gold a fesse gules and six fleurs de lys, two, two and two,
countercoloured.

Party gules and azure cheveronwise with two leopards ram-
pant in the chief and a fleurs de lys in the foot, all of
gold. The BASTARD OF CLARRAUNCE.

Gold a gurge of gules. PYROT.

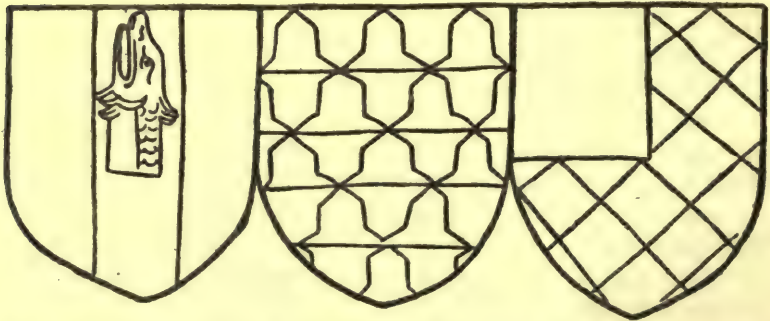
Lozengy gules and vair. GRAVE VAN GUIZ *de Almayne*. (In
a later hand *Burgo E. of Kent*.)

Azure a gurge of silver. [In a later hand *Gorges*.]

Barry sable and silver wavy. SIR THOMAS BLOUNT. *Stafford chyre*.

Barry gold and sable dancy. TOMAS SHYLFORDE.

Silver three demi-lions gules. SIR WYLYAM STORMYE. *Hampe
chyre*.



Silver a pale sable with a whale's or fishes head gold cut off at
the shoulder thereon. SIR WYLYAM GASQWYGE [GAS-
COIGNE]. *York chyre*.

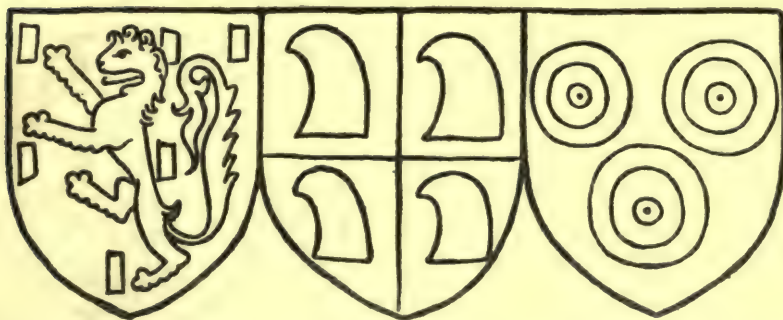
Vairy silver and gules. SIR THOMAS GRESLEY. *Leyscester chyre*.

Silver a fret gules [tricked as lozengy] and a quarter azure.
SIR XPYSTOFFYR CORWENE.



Gules three silver swords with *bylt and pomell* gold out of one pomel in the midst of the shield. SIR BRYAN STAPYLTON. *Yorke chyre.*

Vert three squirrels silver. THOMAS BAXTERD. *Northumberland.*
Sable two crowned lions passant *gobbone of vj pecys* silver and gules. ROBERT STRANGWAYS. *Yorke chyre.*



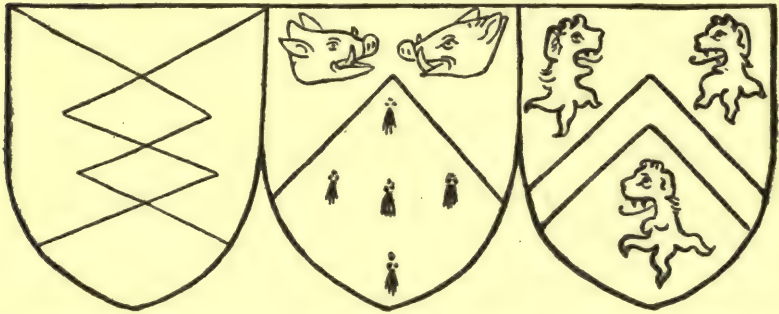
Gules billety gold with a lion gold. SIR ROWFE BOWLMAR. *Yorke chyre.*

Quarterly azure and gold with four caps of the one in the other. *A byschoppe of Bathe.* [JOHN DE DROKENESFORD 1309-29.]

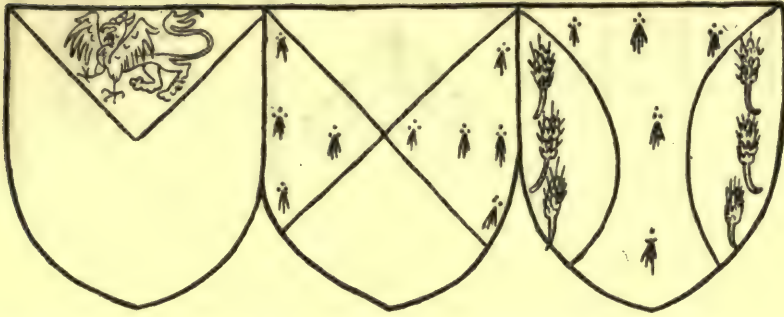
Sable three standing dishes of silver. ROUFE STANDYSCH. *Lancaster chyre.*



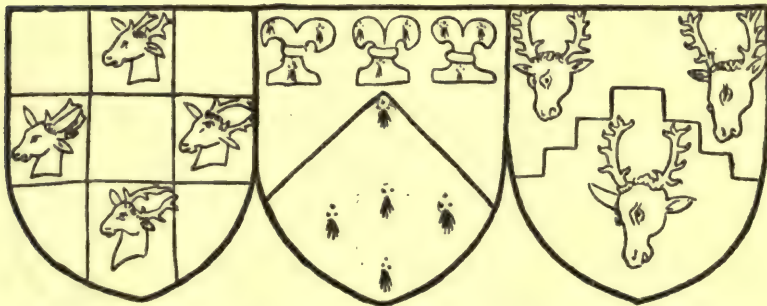
Beryth assure a stremer of gold. [A note in the trick says [three] sternys golde]. SIR FRAUNCYS OF ALDENHAM.
Beryth gold and sabyll enbelyfe a lyon rampand of the same : of the yle of Wycht. SIR ADAME FRAUNCYS.
Beryth a poynt of sabyll a chefe of goules entte grele iij eglys bedis of sylvyr the bekys gold. SIR JOHN GODDARDE.



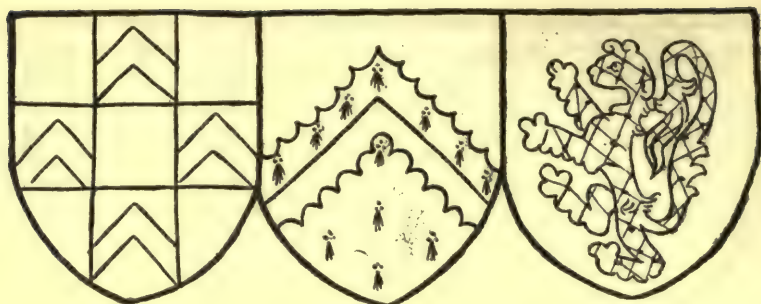
Silver a pale indented sable. [SIR JOHN SAWAGE struck out and Daniers written in a later hand.] Lancaster chyre.
Ermyne and sabyll entte with two boars' heads gold in the chief. SIR BRYAN SANDFORDE. Notyngbam chyre. The borre heads shulde lokke bothe one waye.
Asewre and gowlys entte with a cheveron gold between three lions' heads gold rased. SIR JOHN STEWARDE OF WALYS.



- The *feld gold a chefe of asewre entte pycche* with a griffon passant silver. THORPE. *Yorke chyre.*
 Party gules and ermine saltirewise. RAWFE RESTWOLDE. *Bark chyre.*
 Ermyne *ij flaunchys azure with vj whetberys of golde.* JOHN GREYBY. *Hoxynford chyre.*



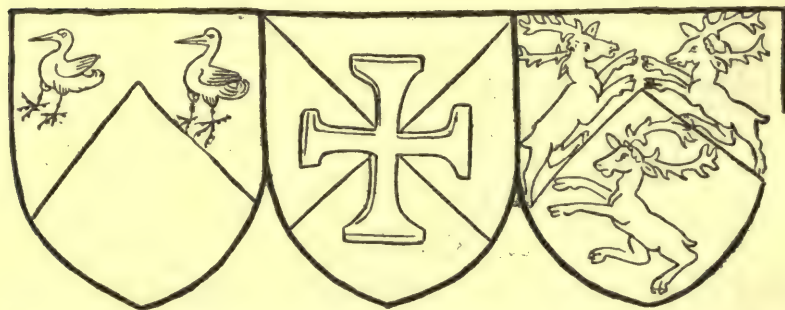
- Nine pieces gold and azure with four *roo bedys* all gold cut off at the neck. ROCLEY.
 Party cheveronwise gules and ermine with three chess *rokys* of ermine in the chief. [SOWTHWELL struck out.] HOLEWELL of Walys.
 Party cheveronwise sable and silver indented with three bucks' heads countercoloured *bornys and all.* PYERSE OF CAWODE. *Yorke chyre.*



Beryth Stafford and sylvyr ix pecys. RICHARD WHYTGREWE.
Staffordchyre. [That is to say nine pieces silver and gold
the gold pieces having each the cheveron gules of Stafford.
The painted shield alters the silver to azure, which is the
right colour.]

*Beryth a poynt of ermyne the chefe ente of synobyll ij cheweronys
engrelyd lune et lautre.* TOMAS STOKYS.

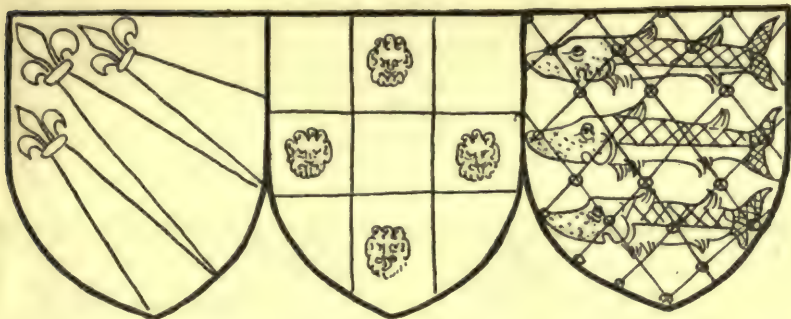
Gold a lion lozengy silver and azure. WYLYAM LYNDE *other
wyse callyd* ADAME BUXHULL. *Barkechyre.*



Party cheveronwise silver and sable with *ij morcokkys of sabyh*
in the chief. RYCHARDE MYDDYLMORE. *Warrewykchyre.*

Party azure and gules saltirewise with a cross formy gold. A
note at the side reverses the colours of the field. ROGER
BREWSE *otherwyse callyd* RYCHARD WERYMAN. *Myddylsex.*

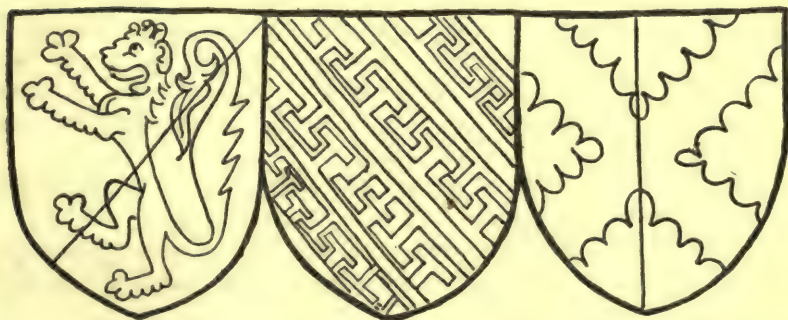
Party cheveronwise sable and silver with three harts rampant
two of silver and one of sable *the bornys golde.* FRAUNCYS
HERSTON. *Southbery chyre.*



*Beryth sabyll iij poyntys flowryd of sylvyr. ROBARD NORTON.
Rychemond chyre.*

*A beryth goullys and wert ix pecys iiij lebardys bedys of gold. TOMAS
NEWTON. Sothbereychyre.*

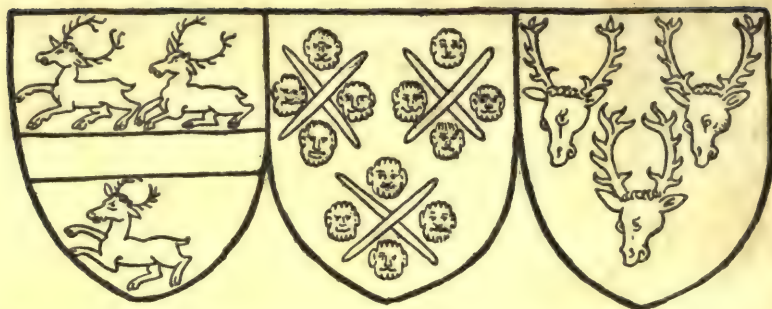
*Beryth asewre iij storgonys natand of gold maskelyd yn gowllys.
STORGON. Sothbereychyre. A second blazon is given at
the side of the shield, namely :—the feld of asewre iij
storgonys of golde maskyld yn an nette of gowllys.*



Party sable and silver *enbelyse* (i.e. bendwise) with a lion
countercoloured. [] *Sowthberey.*

PYERSE DEWRANT *beryth asewre bendly p'tance of sylvyr : de
Gwascowyng.*

JOHN POLE. *A beryth demey [i.e. party] gold and sabyll a sawter
engrelyd of the same.*



Silver a fesse gules between three *herittys all sabyll bedys and all.*

JOHN CARLTON.

Three couple of crossed staves each couple between four
leopards' heads.

Sylvyr iij herittys bedys all sabyll. GORGE RYGMAYDYN.

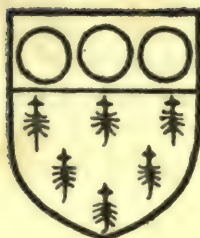
(To be concluded.)

CONFIRMATION

Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Rado abbas burton
 et omnes eiusdem loci concessimus. confirmavimus Rado fili
 ormi et heredibus suis totam terram de acour cum omnibus pertinentiis
 quas pertineat ille predictus tunc tenenda de nobis et de ecclesia
 burton tam libere et tam quiete quam dominus noster concessit
 ecclesie nostre burton reddendo nobis annuatim .ii. s. denariorum
 ad festum sancti martini post sermone. Et sciendum quod predictus Rado
 et heredes sui debent ad curiam regis ire cum alio puer
 godo domini super expensis abbat. Et Rado predictus
 et heredes sui ad curiam abbat puer debent quando iudi-
 candi latrone si sit capto vel causa iudicandi banni
 ille. Et hoc faciendum Rado predictus et heredes sui debent
 rationabiliter summoneri. Testes sunt huius. primus
 ipse capitulum ecclesie burton. scilicet Jordan prior
 Briennius. Willelmus de sancto albano et ceteri monachi
 ecclesie predictae. Deum Galfredus de bachepiz. Rado
 de gungum. Galfredus de tannhil. Willelmus de
 Wintehil. Godwinus de brantaltun. et lesfincus
 et plures alii.

OUR OLDEST FAMILIES

VI. THE OKEOVERS



FOR warranty of its high antiquity the house of Okeover may point to its lands of Okeover, from which it drew its name when surnames began in England. Okeover is in Staffordshire, hard by the Derbyshire border. Like another Staffordshire family, the Wrottesleys of Wrottesley, the Okeovers owe the proofs of their earliest ancestry to the fact that a religious house enfeoffed its patriarchs whose names are found in the cartulary of Burton Abbey.¹

Orm is the father of all the Okeovers and Orm is a name of the Scandinavians, so that we may believe that the house came over sea ; and as no record tells of the coming of Orm, we may attach him by ancestry to some inland raid of the Northmen to Staffordshire, where was a great settlement of them. Here at least we have a probability, which is more good fortune than attends most pedigrees which would make foothold in the Dark Ages, as well as that absence of facts which frees the pen-hand of the pedigree maker.

But for the new genealogist Orm is surely old enough to have become a household god, compelling reverence in the antiquary beholding him. He must have been born well into the eleventh century, although hardly far enough back to allow him to have ridden against the axes at Hastings. Neel, the abbot of Burton, who died in May, 1113, gives to Orm 'the land of Acovere,' to be held at a yearly rent of 20 oz. of silver. For the land he was to be the abbey's man, and was to promise that when he died he should be brought to Burton for his burying 'cum tota pecunia sua.' His son was to have the land after him on the same terms on paying such relief as a *nobilis homo* should give for such land. The land of Okeover included Ilam (Ylum), and in each there were sixteen oxgangs of 'warland' and a mill. The gift was

¹ William Salt Society, vol. v. pt. 1.

probably made not long before the death of the abbot in 1113.

To Okeover Orm added six oxgangs in Stratton which he had of the grant of Abbot Geoffrey (1114-50) for 6s. a year for him and his heir, and this heir Ralf was confirmed in them on his father's death by the same abbot. Abbot Robert (1150-9), the successor to Geoffrey, confirmed again this estate to Ralf at the same rent, and gave Ralf and his heirs also a charter of confirmation of 'the whole land of Acour', for the yearly rent of two marks, but certain duties are added, possibly in consideration for the grant being thus made permanent. This charter we have had pictured for our readers.

Besides the abbots of Burton the Okeovers had other patrons in the great house of Ferrers, and thus a second line of evidence strengthens the early pedigree. The Okeover cartulary shows that Ralf the son of Orm had from Robert the Earl of Ferrers the vill of Caldelowe (Cauldwell). William, Earl of Ferrers, confirms this grant to Hugh de 'Acoure,' who was Ralf's son and heir, and to this charter Geoffrey de Acovere is witness. Sheen, another Staffordshire manor, was given to this Hugh of Okeover by the grant of Bertram de Verdon, who was raising money which should equip him and his men for the crusade of 1190, from which crusade Bertram never came home again. This cartulary was compiled by Roger de Okeover, who lived under Edward II., and now lies in the Bodleian Library.

In the reign of Henry II. Ralf de Acovere had married Lettice, daughter of Walter de Montgomeri, with whom he had Snelston. Walter was a great tenant of Ferrers, and doubtless by this marriage begins the notable linking of the Okeovers to Ferrers. With Snelston came the first military tenure of the family, and for Snelston the Okeover heir, when within age at his father's death, became ward to the Montgomeri.

The knight Roger of Okeover, the maker of the cartulary, gives us an interesting account of his tenure at Okeover and elsewhere. The manor of Okeover he holds of the abbots of Burton as freely as the king gave it to the abbey, paying two marks at Martinmas for all services. He is bound to ride to London on the business of the house of Burton, and to attend the Court of Burton for the trying of robbers or if there shall

be wager of battle, but for these matters he must have reasonable summons. He holds lands also of the priory of Tutbury at a rent of 22*s.* yearly, and for the prior he must plough every year at Quadragesima for one whole day with three ploughs, the prior finding the men their day's meat as was the custom. He is also to find sixteen reapers to reap one day for the prior. He and his heirs are to come to the counsel of the prior within the counties of Derby and Stafford unless his other lords have summoned him elsewhere, and when called outside those counties he and his horses and his men shall be found in all things by the prior. If the lord of Tutbury Castle shall be imprisoned and his ransom be to raise the prior must aid him, and in that case Roger is to be taxed for one ploughland and the like if the lord's daughter be married.

Such tenures give us something of the life of these old knights. Each a constitutional sovereign on his own manors and servant of earl, abbot and prior, we see them farming their lands, dealing out the quick and bloody justice of their day, and trotting with their horsemen behind them backward and forward to the county town and on that long road to London which pagans or devils had made in forgotten times—the road which runs between the woodlands where the robbers live. The king's writ and the lord's summons ran here and there calling to war, council or services, and the furthest township stirs with a life unguessed at by those who would take their picture of old England from the dull round of such villages as have in our day escaped the factory and the builder of that new commune, the 'residential neighbourhood.'

It will be seen that the long Okeover pedigree is not built up of obscure names which the industry of a genealogist spades up from the mounds of forgotten things. The Okeovers have their corner in the country's history. All the early Okeovers are knights. The first Hugh of Okeover is a knight of great assize on the Plea Rolls of King John's time. Hugh his grandson is sheriff of Stafford during the barons' wars of Henry III., and by a writ on the fine roll for 43 Henry III. (1269) that king grants that he may pay the arrears of his shrievalty by yearly instalments, for the sake of his losses on the marches of Wales during the late troubles. The nature of these troubles was shown in 1265, when Hugh de Acoure sued his evil neighbour John de Audley of Blore, who had

raided Okeover during the war and carried off such goods as were not too hot or too heavy.

Sir Roger of Okeover was in the disastrous wars of Edward II. in Scotland. He was one of the Staffordshire knights summoned to Westminster in 1324 to treat with the king and his bishops and barons on high matters of state. In 1333 he had letters of protection whilst on the king's service in Scotland, and brought the story of the great day of Halidon Hill home for a winter's tale round his hall fire at Okeover. As he had been a commissioner of array for Derby and Nottingham, he probably rode to the wars at the head of the levies for those counties.

Philip of Okeover, grandson of this Roger, followed arms likewise. With him the Derbyshire house saw foreign lands and strange fields of war, for he sailed with John of Gaunt for Spain when that prince set out to back his Spanish claims with English bows and lances. An Okeover marriage had brought the house nigh of kin to the stoutest knight of the day, for Robert of Okeover, Philip's forefather, married Sara, whose father John of Chandos was grandfather, as is believed, to the great Chandos.

The family thus founded in the beginning of our history and blooded in the most famous of our over-sea wars goes on as an honoured house in Staffordshire, leaving high politics to the adventurous souls who will bet houses, lands and necks against high places and perilous honours. They serve the county as sheriffs; they marry with noble houses—Basset of Blore, Aston of Tixhall, Dethick of Babington; and in this year 1903 Haughton Charles Okeover sits in the seat of Orm his ancestor at Okeover in Staffordshire, and a son and heir-apparent is not lacking.

O. B.



THE ARMS OF THE KINGMAKER.
From his Cardiff Chancery Seal.

THE ARMS OF THE KING-MAKER. II.

THE publication of my article in the last number of *The Ancestor* on 'The Arms of the King-maker'¹ brought me a letter from the Rev. J. H. F. Peile of University College, Oxford, in which he was good enough to draw my attention to the existence of another impression of the earl's armorial seal similar to that in the possession of my relative.² He kindly sent me a photograph of the document to which this impression is attached, which is among the Burford (Oxon) deeds in Dr. Cheatle's possession. It resembles the other document in appearance and in bearing the earl's autograph signature ('R. Warrewyk'), but is several years earlier, being dated 26 February, 34 Henry VI. (1456), as against 1 February, 4 Edward IV. (1465). This difference is of some importance, for in 1456, 'the King-maker' had not yet succeeded to the earldom of Salisbury. His style therefore in the Burford document—'Comes Warrewici Dominus de Bergevenny'—corresponds with the legend on the seal, while that in the later one does not. It is evident now that he changed his style, but not his seal, on succeeding to his father's earldom, and that the discrepancy between the two in the later document is thus accounted for.³

I further received a letter from Mr. Ballinger of the Central Library, Cardiff, bringing to my notice the photograph of another armorial seal of 'the King-maker,' which is published in volume ii. of the *Records of Cardiff* (1900). This I recognized at once as the missing reverse of the noble equestrian seal figured in our last number from its matrix in the British Museum. I have since been able, with the courteous assistance of Mr. Bickley of the MS. department, not only to identify the casts from which that photograph was taken (lxxxviii. 68, 69), but to find casts made from a

¹ *The Ancestor*, iv. 143-7.

² See the upper photograph facing p. 143 (*The Ancestor*, No. iv.).

³ In both documents the earl adopts the quasi-regal 'Nos.' Since the above was written I have found that this charter was examined for the Historical MSS. Commission (*Report on MSS. in various Collections* [1901], i. 47), but the arms on the seal are not described in the report.

much finer impression,¹ which is here photographed for the first time. Both the obverse and reverse of the seal are shown, for although the former, as explained above, has already appeared in our pages, the combination of the two connects them as one seal.

There can be no question that this seal was used by the great earl as lord *jure uxoris* of 'Glamorgan and Morgan,' that extensive Welsh lordship which, through the Despensers, had descended to his wife from her Clare ancestors. Its use in connexion with his Welsh possessions is illustrated by a charter in possession of the heirs of the Carnes of Nash, to which an impression of this seal (of which about a third is broken off) is appendant. It is described by Mr. G. T. Clark in his *Cartæ et munimenta de Glamorgan* (iii. 177-8) and in *Archæologia Cambrensis* (vol. iv.). An engraving of this impression is given in both places from a drawing by Utting, but it is not absolutely exact. The great interest of this Carne charter is that it describes itself as 'Datum in cancellaria nostra de Kaerdiff *sub sigillo cancellarie nostre de Kaerdiff.*' Its date is 8 July, 1462 (2 Edw. IV.), and the earl's style therein is the same as in the legend on the seal: 'Ricardus Nevil comes Warwici et dominus Glamorgancie et Morgancie.' His charter of confirmation to Neath Abbey (24 June, 1468) is also given under 'sigillum cancellarie nostre de Kaerdiff.'²

The seal therefore here figured was that of the earl's Cardiff chancery, and was used by him contemporaneously with the quite distinct armorial seal figured in our last number. On the former, which was used for local documents, he is styled in the legend, on obverse and reverse, 'Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan'; on the latter his secondary title on the seal is 'Lord of Bergavenny.' The arms differ, like the legend, according to the purpose for which the seal was intended to be used. On the Cardiff seal the arms, as we may term them, of the lordship of Glamorgan and Morgan, namely Clare quartering Despenser, occupy the place of honour, namely the first and fourth quarters, emphasizing the territorial character still possessed

¹ xcvi. 92 (rev.), 93 (obv.). All four casts are additions since the compilation of the printed catalogue, which accounts for the reverse being unknown to me and others when my former article was written.

² *Cartæ et munimenta de Glamorgan*, ii. 209.

THE ARMS OF THE KING-MAKER 197

by heraldry. It was, as Mr. Barron has expressed it, 'an armory speaking of facts, of lordships and high seignories in the grasp of the great earls.'¹ And although the coat of the earldom of Salisbury occupies the second and third quarters, the paternal arms, not only of the King-maker (Nevil), but of his wife (Beauchamp), are actually omitted from the shield.

Now that we know both the obverse and the reverse of this remarkable seal we can appreciate its wealth of heraldry in coat and crest and badge, in supporters and in the charger's trappings. On the obverse the earl bears upon his arm a shield with the arms of his house (NEVIL differenced) and on his helm the swan's head crest of his wife's family (BEAUCHAMP). On the fore trappers are seen the arms of his father's earldom of Salisbury (MONTHERMER quartering MONTAGU²); on the hind trappers the earldom of Warwick is represented by a coat of two grand quarters (1 and 4 BEAUCHAMP quartering NEWBURGH³; 2 and 3 CLARE quartering DESPENSER).

The reverse of the seal shows us a shield of two grand quarters (1 and 4 CLARE quartering DESPENSER; 2 and 3 MONTAGU quartering MONTHERMER), surmounted by the same two crests as are seen on the other armorial seal, the swan's head crest of BEAUCHAMP for the dexter⁴; and the sitting griffin of the Earls of Salisbury for the sinister. The supporters are the bears of the Earls of Warwick, chained and muzzled; and below the shield, on each side, is the famous ragged staff, the badge of the same earls.⁵ Thus did

¹ *The Ancestor*, iv. 146.

² Now popularly known as 'Montacute' (*de monte acuto*). Montagu normally occupies the first quarter. The label is peculiar and should be observed.

³ See *The Ancestor*, iv. 144, note.

⁴ This is lost on the impression here photographed, but is fortunately shown on the Carne impression.

⁵ The interesting list of standards, pennons, etc., made for Richard, Earl of Warwick, in 1437 includes '18 great standards of worsted entertailed with the Bear and a chain,' '16 other standards of worsted entertailed with the *Raggedstaff*,' and '3 pennons of satten entertailed with *Raggedstaffs*.' In a political poem assigned to 'circ. 1449' (*Political Songs*, Rolls Series, ii. 222) we read:—

'The Bere is bound that was so wild
For he hath lost his *ragged staff*.'

A footnote explains that this refers to 'Richard Neville, created Earl of War-

the earl exhibit the emblems of that great galaxy of families represented by himself and his wife.

There is some reason to believe that this superb seal was executed between 24 March, 1450, and 4 May, 1452, although the earl had succeeded to his wife's vast estates as early as 1449. The evidence to that effect is derived from the documents to which we find it appended. Our photographs are made from two casts now in the British Museum (xcvi. 93, 92), where are also preserved two others (lxxxviii. 68, 69) from inferior impressions of the same seal, photographs of which, as explained above, will be found in volume ii. of the *Records of Cardiff* (1900). Nothing is known, I was informed in the MS. department, as to the origin of these impressions. But as the date of an impression and much of its interest depend upon the document to which it was attached, I endeavoured to identify the documents to which they had been appended. And this I succeeded in doing. If we turn to Mr. G. T. Clark's *Cartæ et munimenta de Glamorgan* we find a 'Precipe' of the earl to his bailiffs of Glamorgan and Morgan, 31 October, 1452,¹ the seal of which is described by Mr. Clark, his description corresponding with the photographs here given. Similarly the impression from which the photographs in the Cardiff book were taken was evidently the indenture of 4 May, 1452.²

Mr. Clark found with these documents, among the Penrice MSS., a 'Precipe' of earlier date, 24 March, 1450,³ to which was appendant what he terms the earl's '1st Chancery seal,' which exhibited only the arms of Clare quartering Despencer, those, as I have termed them, of the lordship of Glamorgan. This sounds somewhat improbable, but a cast of an impression with this coat is actually now at the British Museum (xcvi. 90, 91), and must, I think, be taken from that of which he spoke. If this is so, it seems to follow that the great seal here photographed had not yet been executed.

The style of the earl in this document was 'comes

wick on the 4th of May, 1442. . . . He was the father of the King-maker.' This is an amazing blunder, for the King-maker was the first and last Earl of Warwick of his house, and was not so created till 1449. Compare, for the bear and the ragged staff, *Complete Peerage*, ii. 34, note e.

¹ iv. 368-9.

² Ibid. pp. 365-6.

³ Ibid.

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Warrewick *dominus le Despencer* dominus Glamorgancie et Morgancie'; and in his charter to the burgesses of Cardiff, a year later, the title of 'Lord Le Despenser' is again included in his style,¹ as it had been in that of his wife's mother. The use of this title is noteworthy, because at the date of these documents the barony of Despenser was under attainder and not known to have been assumed, according to the *Complete Peerage* (iii. 93). It might no doubt be urged that the earl's assumption of this title was unwarranted and invalid, but it is worth observing that Queen Elizabeth formally ratified the Cardiff charter and everything therein.² This is a further illustration of that looseness in recognizing titles which prevailed, I have shown, in her day.³

In the two later documents (1452) spoken of above the Despenser title is dropped, and the earl is styled only 'dominus Glamorgancie et Morgancie,' as he also is on the Carne seal.⁴ This appears to point to an actual change in his style, which may not be unconnected with the change in his Cardiff seal.

There is yet another variation in the marshalling of the earl's arms, which has been brought to my notice by General Wrottesley. In a window of the old hall at Wrottesley, according to Ashmole's MSS., there was seen the earl's shield, with his arms marshalled as on the seal depicted opposite page 143 of our last number, with the sole and interesting exception that the first and fourth grand quarters were respectively 'Warwick' and 'Glamorgan,' namely BEAUCHAMP

¹ Ricardus Neville Comes Warwici *Dominus le Despenser* Glamorgancie et Morgancie et Anna uxor ejus . . . Inspeximus literas patentes charissime matris nostræ Isabelle nuper Comitisse Warwici Domine La Despenser Glamorgancie et Morgancie . . . datum in Castro nostro de Kardiff xii^o die Marcii anno regni Regis Henrici sexti . . . vicesimo nono' (*Records of Cardiff*, i. 38 (No. xii.)). This charter is preceded by that of the earl's mother-in-law referred to, in which her style is 'Comitissa Wigornie [her first husband was Earl of Worcester] *Domina La Despenser* Glamorgancie et Morgancie.'

² Her charter (12 March, 1581) confirms that 'Ricardi Nevill Comitiss Warwici *Domini le Spencer* Glamorgancie et Morgancie et Anne uxoris ejus . . . ac omnia et singula in eisdem contenta et specificata rata habentes et grata' (ibid. i. 47).

³ See *The Ancestor*, iv. 18.

⁴ p. 196 above.

quartering NEWBURGH (Warwick) and CLARE quartering DESPENSER (Glamorgan). This will be seen in the accompanying drawing by Mr. Barron from General Wrottesley's sketch.

The reason of these arms being found at Wrottesley is explained in the following notes which General Wrottesley has kindly supplied from the forthcoming history of his family.¹

J. HORACE ROUND.

THE ARMS OF RICHARD NEVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK,
FORMERLY IN THE OLD HALL AT WROTTESLEY

These were doubtless set up by Sir Walter Wrottesley, who died in 1473, two years after the death of the earl on the field of Barnet. On Sir Walter's tomb in the Greyfriars' Church the inscription described him as '*Strenuus in armis cum Comite Warwici.*'

Leland the antiquary, writing about sixty years after the death of the earl, and whilst his memory was still fresh in England, writes in his diary: 'The Wrottesleys were men of more lande than they bee nowe and greate with the Earle of Warwick,' and it will be seen from what follows that Sir Walter was one of the most trusted followers of the great earl, and acted as his deputy at the most critical periods of the earl's career.

Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, Great Chamberlain of England, Captain of Calais and Lord of Morgan and Morgannock (to give him his full titles), derived his riches from his vast patrimonial² estates in England and Wales, but he acquired his political power from his office of Governor of Calais and his lordship of Glamorgan in Wales. The first of these gave him the command of the only trained body of soldiers permanently kept on foot, whilst in the latter he had a palatine jurisdiction, and could embody a large force of Welshmen at a few hours' warning.³ As representing his wife, the heiress of the Beauchamps, he was

¹ Printed as a supplement to the *Genealogist*.

² The bulk of his estates were derived, not from his father, but from his wife (J. H. R.).

³ See the *Land of Morgan*, by Mr. George Clark.

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also Hereditary Sheriff of Worcestershire and Hereditary Chamberlain of the Exchequer. *In every one of these offices* Sir Walter Wrottesley acted as the earl's deputy at various times and at all the most critical junctures of the earl's career.

In 1459-60, when the earl placed the crown of England on the head of his first cousin, the young Duke of York, Sir Walter Wrottesley was the earl's deputy in Worcestershire.

In 1467 he accompanied the earl in his famous embassy to the French king, Louis XI., which led to the rupture between Warwick and Edward IV. The Pell Issues name Sir Walter



as the chief of the earl's suite on this occasion, and the expenses of the Embassy passed through his hands.

In the same year he was made Joint Chamberlain of the Exchequer with the earl, and afterwards he occurs as the earl's deputy in the same office.

In 1470 Sir Walter was one of the suite of the earl who escaped to France with him, and was proclaimed a traitor at the same time as the earl and Lionel, Duke of Clarence.

In 1470, when the king, Henry VI., was restored to the throne through the agency of the earl, Sir Walter was appointed the earl's deputy and sheriff of Glamorganshire.

In 1471, when Edward IV. returned to England and reclaimed the crown, Sir Walter was sent as the earl's deputy to Calais to make sure of the town and garrison, Lord Wenlock having proved untrustworthy on a previous occasion. After the death of the earl Sir Walter delivered up Calais to Edward IV., and his public career came to an end, but it will be seen from the foregoing sketch that it had been entirely passed in the service of the earl.

GEORGE WROTTESELEY.

Pedigree Supplement

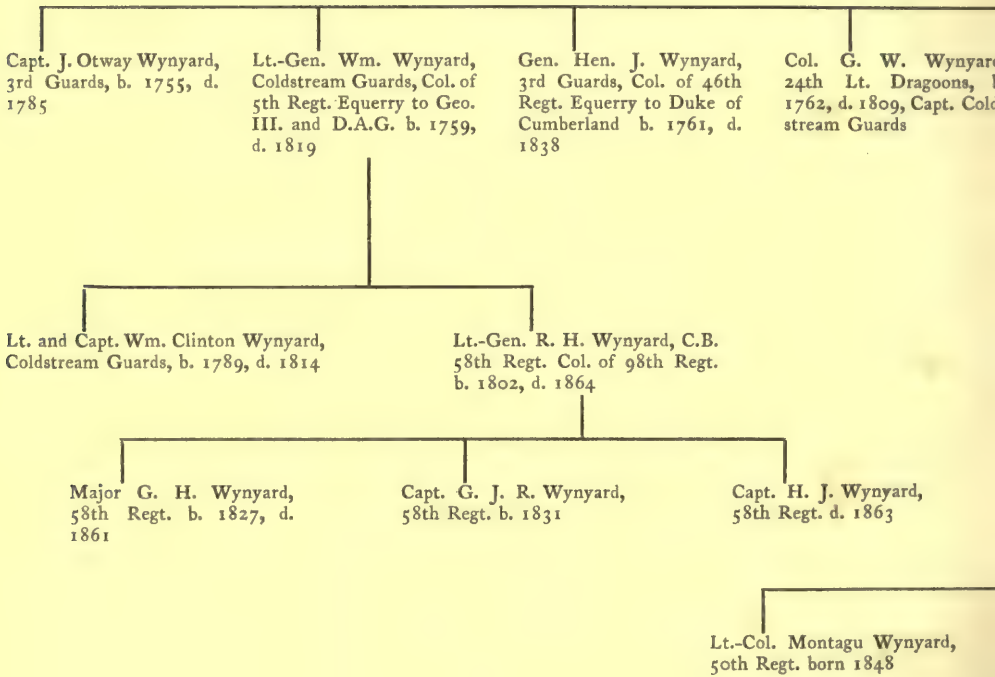
A FAMILY OF SOLDIERS

To face page 202

A FAMILY

Lt.-Gen.
Col. of 17
d. 1752

Lt.-Gen. W
3rd Guards
Regt. b. 17

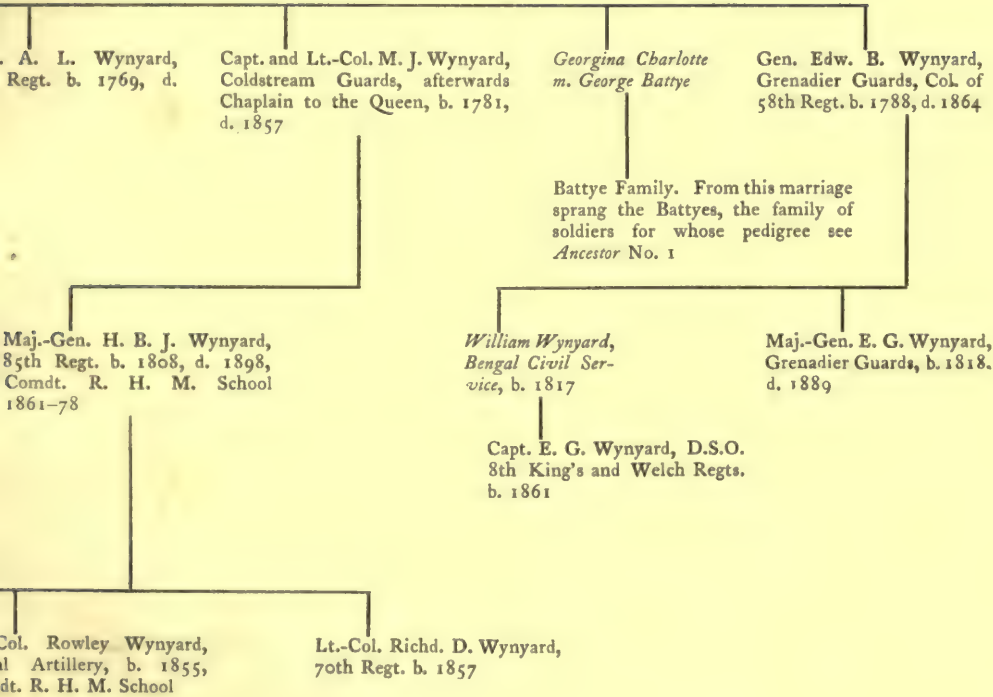


A tablet stands in the Wellington Barracks Chapel, London

SOLDIERS

yard,
682,

nyard,
20th



ory of nine members of this family who served in the Guards





WILLIAM RUSSELL.

RUSSELL FAMILY OF NEW BOND STREET

I SHOULD greatly appreciate any evidence helping to determine the identity of the William Russell whose portrait is here reproduced. The original is an oil painting 35 by 27 inches. It bears no artist's signature, but appears to belong to the first half of the eighteenth century. It formerly belonged to my kinswoman, the late Miss Mary Ann Mouchet, and later passed into the possession of my father.

The following pedigree represents my entire knowledge of the Russell family to which he belonged :—

Israel Russell was buried at St. George's, Hanover Square, 1 April 1748. In his will, dated 18 Aug. 1742 and ratified 18 Feb. 174 $\frac{2}{3}$, he is described as of the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, painter-stainer. His executors to pay off mortgage on his house in Welbeck Street in the possession of Lady Gerard. The said house with his estate in Shoe Lane, parish of St. Bride's, and his house in Upper Brook Street in the possession of the Countess Dowager of Shaftesbury, to his friends John Lutman of St. George's, Hanover Square, locksmith, and Thomas Atwood of St. Clement Danes, gent., upon trust to pay to his wife, Mary Russell, an annuity of £150, and after her death his trustees to sell the premises and divide the money among such of his children as may be living and the children of those who may be dead. To his said wife the guardianship of such of his children as are under twenty-one. The lease of his house in New Bond Street wherein he dwells and trades to his eldest son, Henry Russell. Residue to all his children born or in *ventre sa mere* at twenty-one. His said wife and said John Lutman and Thomas Atwood joint executors. Witnesses to will, Richard Heather and Charles Stuart. Witnesses to ratification, James Dryhurst, Richard Wooton, Richard Heather and Charles Stuart. Proved 7 April, 1748 in *P.C.C.* [128 *Straban*] by Mary Russell, the widow, and the other executors named.

The above Israel Russell of New Bond Street was twice married. By his first wife Anne he had issue :—

Henry Russell, the eldest son, living 18 Feb. 174 $\frac{3}{4}$.

William Russell, born 24 July 1721, bapt. 10 Aug. 1721 at St. Martin-in-the-Fields (probably died young).

Joanna Russell, born 24 May 1724, bapt. 21 June 1724 at St. Martin-in-the-Fields. She married about 1750 or earlier William Stedman of Soho and had issue. She died 14 June 1814 at Belgrave Terrace, Pimlico, and was buried at St. Anne's, Soho. Both on her tombstone and in the registers her age is erroneously stated as 94. The will of 'Johannah Stedman' is dated 29 Dec. 1810. Leaves all her property equally between her daughters Ann Read and Mary Mouchet. Witness, S. Breston. Richard White of Essex Street, Strand, gent., deposed to her handwriting 19 July, 1814. Will proved 22 July 1814 in *P.C.C.* [443 *Bridport*] by Abraham John Mouchet, power reserved to Claudius Grignon of Holloway, Middlesex, the other executor.

Joseph Russell, born 28 Oct. 1726, bapt. 15 Nov. 1726 at St. George's, Hanover Square.

John Russell, born 18 Feb. 1727, bapt. 17 March 1727 at St. George's, Hanover Square (probably died young).

By his second wife Mary, Israel Russell had issue :—

John Russell, born 21 Oct. 1739, bapt. 11 Nov. 1739 at St. George's, Hanover Square.

Mary Russell, born 11 Mar. 174 $\frac{1}{2}$, bapt. 6 April 1742 at St. George's, Hanover Square.

Charles Russell, born 5 Mar. 174 $\frac{2}{3}$, bapt. 21 Mar. 174 $\frac{2}{3}$ at St. George's, Hanover Square.

William Russell, born 10 Aug. 1744, bapt. 2 Sept. 1744 at St. George's, Hanover Square.

William Stedman before mentioned died 17 Feb. 1805 in Frith Street, Soho, aged 78, and was buried at St. Anne's. A brief obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* runs : 'In his 78th year, Mr. William Stedman, of Frith-street, Soho, 60 years an inhabitant of St. Anne's parish.' In his will, which is undated, he is described simply as of St. Ann, Soho, in the Liberty of Westminster. After payment of debts he leaves to his wife Johanah the interest of £1,500 4 per cent bank stock, and at her death the principal equally between his two daughters, Ann Reade and Mary Mouchet. To daughter Ann Reade £250 4 per cent consols. To daughter Mary Mouchet £100 consols. To each of his grandchildren £50

at twenty-one. To his executors £20 each. Residue between wife and daughters equally. To his cousin Richard Ellison £20. Exors. Abram Mouchet, his son-in-law, and Mr. William Reid. On 4 Mar. 1805 Francis Deschamps of Chapel Street, parish of St. Ann, gent., and Joseph Davis of King Street, gent., deposed to his handwriting. Will proved 5 Mar. 1805 in *P.C.C.* [211 *Nelson*] by A. J. Mouchet, power reserved to William Reid.

William Stedman and Joanna Russell had issue three daughters :—

- (1) Anne Stedman, married in or shortly before 1789 to James Reade (1749–1814) of Market Drayton, Salop, and had issue. Mrs. Reade died on Friday, 27 Dec. 1820, aged 68, at her son's house in High Street, Shrewsbury, and was buried in the old Baptist burying ground, Market Drayton.
- (2) Mary Stedman, born 9 Feb. 1763, bapt. 4 Mar. 1763 at St. Anne's, Soho; married 30 Mar. 1791, at St. Anne's to Abraham John Mouchet (1760–1846) of 70, St. Martin's Lane, and had issue. Mrs. Stedman died 12 Dec. 1848, and was buried with her husband at Brompton Cemetery.
- (3) Lucy Catherine Stedman, born 13 Nov. 1766, died 9 Nov. 1802, at Market Drayton, unmarried, and was buried at the parish church there.

The children of Mary Stedman and A. J. Mouchet all died unmarried or without issue. The last survivor was their only daughter, Mary Ann Mouchet, who was born 19 June 1793 and died 12 Mar. 1886 in full possession of her faculties. It will be observed that her life and that of her grandmother, Mrs. Stedman (who was buried on M. A. M.'s twenty-first birthday), covered the remarkable period of 162 years.

Miss Mouchet described the portrait as that of William Russell, great-uncle of her grandmother, Joanna Russell. This relationship would seem to throw the date too far back. Miss Mouchet may easily have made a mistake of a generation, in which case William Russell might be a brother of Israel Russell.

No Israel Russell was a member of the Painter-Stainers' Company during the eighteenth century.

It may be of interest, in view of Sir Edmund Bewley's

recent letter in *The Ancestor*, to observe that the will of Israel Russell was made *on parchment* and apparently in duplicate. A small piece of parchment cut off the corner of a will has descended from Joanna Russell, bearing two signatures of 'Is: Russell' with two seals, and showing the ratification of the will and the final '2' of the date. Dr. George W. Marshall, of the Heralds' College, compared a photograph of this with the original will of Israel Russell at Somerset House and found them identical. The signature of 'Is: Russell' is a fine one, and taken by itself would indicate a man of good position and education.

The arms on the seals are silver a lion rampant gules; with a chief sable and a bezant and two escallops silver on the chief; crest, a demi-goat. The coat is of course but slightly differenced from that of the ducal house of Bedford. A relationship with that family has been assumed and asserted by all the descendants of Joanna Russell [Mrs. Stedman], and there is indeed a note by her son-in-law, A. J. Mouchet, probably written about 1840, saying that the relationship of his wife to the ducal house 'on her mother's side can be traced back amongst said Mrs. Mouchet's ancestors' papers and old title-deeds, etc.' But personally I should feel happier could I see the papers and deeds spoken of before assuming a relationship of which there seems little possibility.

The fact that the portrait, with other Russell relics, came into Mrs. Joanna Stedman's possession may indicate that the rest of Israel Russell's children died without issue. This is made more probable by a statement of Miss Mouchet's in 1847, that her mother had no relatives except the descendants of her sister, Mrs. Reade.

ALEYN LYELL READE.

MAUDUIT OF HARTLEY MAUDUIT

THE family of Mauduit, in the twelfth century, had a close official connection with the king's exchequer, the mainspring of our financial and, to some extent, of our administrative system at the time. And the Hampshire manor which preserves, in a corrupted form, their name had a part in that connection. I have observed of Hartley Mauditt that—

This manor was held by the Mauduits under Henry III. 'per serjant-eriam camar[ariæ] Domini Regis,' 'per camerariam ad scaccarium,' or 'per servicium camar[ariæ] Domini Regis' (*Testa de Nevill*). It had been held by William 'Malduith' in 1086, and I have elsewhere shown that the chamberlainship of the Treasury, afterwards the Exchequer, with the tenure of the lands thereto appurtenant, can be carried back to this Domesday tenant.¹

And an inquisition (23 Jan. 1267-8) taken on the death of William Mauduit, Earl of Warwick, found that 'he was the king's chamberlain at the Exchequer in London by reason of this manor, and used to have a clerk there continually to whom he gave 100s. yearly at least.'

The early history of the Mauduit family is proved and illustrated by a series of charters transcribed in the family cartulary of the earls of Warwick;² for they eventually inherited the earldom of Warwick, and from them it descended to the Beauchamps. Hartley (Mauduit) had been held, as 'Herlege,' by their Domesday ancestor together with Shaldern ('Seldene') and Porchester. In the learned and very valuable edition of the *Dialogue concerning the Exchequer*, published last year³ we read of William's estates that—

His son, Robert Mauduit, who presumably inherited these manors, was one of the chamberlains under Henry I. He died about 1129-30, leaving a daughter and heiress, who was purchased by William de Pont de l'Arche, together with her inherited office, for 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.). At the same time William also acquired for himself the 'ministerium camere curie,' which was probably the office mentioned in the 'Constitutio' as held by William Mauduit the younger, brother of Robert (p. 20).

¹ *Victoria History of Hampshire*, i. 432.

² Now Add. MS. 28,024 in the British Museum.

³ *De Necessariis observantiis scaccarii Dialogus* (Oxford University Press).

The descent, however, of Hartley Mauduit is proved by charters in the above cartulary which are buried among those relating to 'Hamslope' (now Hanslope), Bucks, the head of a small barony bestowed on William Mauduit by Henry I. and confirmed subsequently. The first of these is a charter of Henry I., granted early in his reign, which is addressed to William, Bishop of Winchester, and Henry de Port (then sheriff of Hampshire), who was son and successor of Hugh de Port, the great local baron in Domesday. This charter grants to 'Hadewisa,' widow of William Mauduit, all her dower and all that her husband had given her in his lifetime, namely—

Sceldedenam¹ et Herleiam,² et dominicum managium de Wincestr' extra portam civitatis et terram quæ est in vico fullonum et domos similiter (fo. 28).

The early date of this document is proved by the witnesses' names—W[illiam] de Warelwast, Eudo *Dapifer*, Robert Fitz Hamo, Roger Bigot, Hamo *Dapifer*, and another—which point to 1100-6, and a private charter of this period is very rarely preserved. The mention of the 'street of the fullers' at Winchester is specially deserving notice, for although the 'street of the tanners' is named in the two early surveys of Winchester,³ the fullers' street is not. It is also worthy of notice that the unusual word 'managium'⁴ for a residence is found in those surveys.⁵ The above charter is followed by one addressed to Bishop William, to the sheriff, and to the reeve (*preposito*) of Winchester, in which the king grants to William Mauduit, Robert's younger brother, the reversion to all the above property on his mother's death (*excessum*), until which he was to receive £10 a year from William de Pont de l'Arche. It is worth noticing that Shaldern and Hartley Mauduit were valued as worth, between them, £10 in 1086. The witness to this charter—Robert Bishop of Lincoln, Ranulf (Flambard) Bishop of Durham, Nigel de Albini, Geoffrey Fitz Payne, Edward of Salisbury, Robert de Creve-

¹ Shaldern.

² Hartley Mauduit.

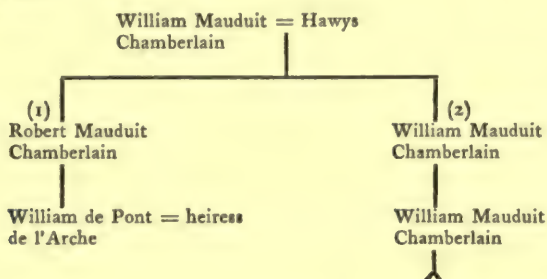
³ See *Victoria History of Hampshire*, i. 527-37. The holdings described in this charter cannot be identified in the surveys, but they mention holdings of Robert Mauduit twice (*Victoria History*, i. 533).

⁴ Compare French 'menage.'

⁵ *Liber Winton* (Record Commission), pp. 546-7.

cœur, Robert de Ver, Robert d'Oilli and another—suggest for it a later date, probably about the middle of the reign. It is remarkable that, in addition to the reversion, the king grants to William the land of 'fifhida' (Fyfield), which his father had held of Robert Fitz Hamon, and which Robert the king's son (Robert Fitz Hamon's son-in-law and afterwards Earl of Gloucester) had granted him. For Fyfield appears in Domesday as held by William Mauduit, not of Robert Fitz Hamon, but of the king in *capite*.

The above charters supply for the first time the name of the Domesday tenant's wife, and we may now construct the pedigree thus :—



To quote again from the editors' introduction to the *Dialogue* :¹—

It might have been supposed that the whole office would have passed into the family of William de Pont de l'Arche, who certainly exercised the office in 1129–30, and continued to hold it until after the accession of Stephen. But shortly before his² accession we find that Henry II. restored to William Mauduit, the younger brother of Robert Mauduit, not only the office of Chamberlain, but also the castle of Porchester and all lands appendant to that office and castle (p. 21).

For this last statement the authority given is my *Commune of London and Other Studies* (p. 83), where I have printed from the above cartulary a clause of Duke Henry's charter (1153) given at Leicester, by which he grants to William the office and 'all lands belonging to the aforesaid chamberlainship . . . even as his father held that chamberlainship with its appurtenances, and even as Robert Mauduit his brother was holding it on the day he was alive and dead.' William Mauduit survived the king's accession, and it was to his son and namesake that Henry, by a charter given at Woodstock, circ.

¹ See p. 207 note 3 above.

² i.e. Henry II.'s.

1158, confirmed the whole barony of his father, including 'Scaldedena' (Shaldern) and 'Herlega' (Hartley).¹

Dugdale, after his wont, confused the younger William with his father, making them into one;² and although he worked from the cartulary on which this paper is based, he missed the big marriage of this rising family, which indeed seems to be omitted from all its pedigrees.³ That marriage is virtually implied by the following charter, taken from that cartulary, which implies that William Mauduit the younger had married Isabel, a sister of Simon, Earl of Northampton (1174-84), and a daughter of Simon the previous earl (temp. Hen. I.), who had given her as a marriage portion his land in Grendon (Northants) and three knights' fees in that county.

Comes Simon omnibus amicis suis et omnibus Franciis et Angliis presentibus et futuris salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse Willelmo Malduit Camerario Domini Regis et Isabelle uxori sue et heredibus suis tenenda de me et de heredibus meis terras et feodos militum quod Comes Simon pater meus dedit Willelmo Malduit et Isabelle uxori sue in libero maritagio, scilicet totam terram quam Comes Simon pater meus habuit in Grendon cum omnibus liberis pertinentiis ejusdem terre et donationem ecclesie ejusdem ville et servitium trium militum, scilicet ij in Akele et in Newetona et j in Braibroke et in Aketorp de feodo Simonis de Foxtona Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod ipse Willelmus Malduit et uxor ejus predicta et heredes sui habeant et teneant sicut liberum maritagium predictas terras et feodos bene et in pace libere et quiete et honorifice cum omnibus liberis pertinentiis in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in viis et semitis in stangnis et in aquis et in molendinis in villa et extra villam et in omnibus aliis locis: Hiis testibus. Comitissa Aliz, Simone fratre meo, Ricardo Luvetoftes, Waltero de Gloc[estria], Hugone de Vuill, Galfrido Baard Iuone de Barkeword, Philippo Juvene de Kim, Adam de Boueton, Warn[ero] filio Roberti, Oliu[ero] filio Willelmi, Johanne de Latew, Johanne filio Walteri, Willelmo fratre ejus, Roberto filio Petri (fo. 28 dors.).

I can find no trace whatever of this grant, under the places named, in Bridges' *Northamptonshire*. But they were all of 'the fee of Huntingdon' (i.e. Earl Simon's), and Newton and Great Oakley went together at the time.⁴ Moreover a Simon de Foxton is found holding land at Braybrooke of 'the fee of Huntingdon.'⁵ Of the witnesses Richard de Lovetot was holding Polebrook under Richard I.; Simon, brother of the earl, was his natural brother.

J. HORACE ROUND.

¹ Cartulary, fo. 29.

² *Baronage*, i. 399.

³ See, for instance, even Baker's *Northamptonshire*.

⁴ *Victoria History of Northamptonshire*, i. 387.

⁵ Pipewell Cartulary cited in Bridges' *Northamptonshire*, ii. 9.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

‘THE RISE OF HERALDRY.’

SIR—

May I be permitted to reply to the criticisms in ‘What is Believed,’ in your last volume, of my communications to the *Ex Libris Journal*. In those letters I said I did not write with the view of emphasizing any theory, but to show the need of inquiry, and with the hope of eliciting the views of English and foreign students as to the origin of armory. I remarked that Mr. W. Smith Ellis, in his *Antiquities of Heraldry*, laid particular stress upon the ‘Leges Hasti-ludiales’ of Henry the Fowler. Your article states that I remain ‘the one orthodox believer in their authenticity.’ I am not responsible for Mr. Smith Ellis’s views or citations of authorities, nor have I ever expressed agreement with his theory as to the pre-Conquest institution of heraldry, but on the contrary, throughout the letters to which you have referred, I submitted that all our present evidences point to the Crusades of the twelfth century as having given birth to our systematized armorial bearings. The *critique* on my letters represents me as stating what is directly opposite to anything that I have ever advanced. You say that the ‘Leges’ of Henry the Fowler have been proved to be the forgeries of an ancient herald named Georg Ruxner. On referring to the text of these ‘Leges,’ from the phraseology of the Latin, I readily agree with you as to their worthlessness as tenth century records, but Mr. Smith Ellis erred in good company in regarding them as trustworthy, since the late Mr. John Hewitt, in his monumental and uncommonly accurate work on *Arms and Armour of the Middle Ages*, speaking of tournaments, refers to the ‘Thurnierbuch of Ruxner’ (i. 185). Dallaway also draws attention to Ruxner’s work, as also do many other admitted authorities, and the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, referring to Tournaments, alludes to those of Henry the Fowler or Henry I. of Germany. I suggested that coats of arms might possibly be found, by patient inquiry, to be due to the imitation of the Crusaders of the dress of their Saracenic foemen, or else that the case might have been vice versa, and I instanced the Arab emirs’ symbolical war-coats now on ex-

hibition at the United Service Institution, Whitehall, being those that were captured in our recent wars. Particulars are needed as to the meanings of the devices on these apparently heraldic surcoats. Dallaway makes a suggestion as to a probable copying from the Saracens in his erudite *Inquiry into the Origin of Heraldry in England*.

I am asked to prove that in regular heraldry the bearings of symbols upon coats of arms preceded the bearing of those symbols upon shields. It would take more of your space than you would allow me here to advance all the proofs, but I may be permitted to quote some evidences which, to others as well as myself, are convincing as to coats of arms having first existed as surcoats of arms in the twelfth century, as I have stated elsewhere. The chroniclers of the Crusades, and contemporary writers, tell us nothing about the origin of heraldry, and, as far as I have read, they make but few references at all to the subject of armory, but they tell us that the pilgrims and earliest Crusaders stitched escallop shells and small cloth crosses to their clothes as symbols. In Geoffrey de Vinsauf's *Itinerary of Richard I.*, in the crusade of 1190, he states that the king's saddle bore two small lions of gold turned towards each other. Although he describes the king's rose-coloured vest ornamented with silver crescents, and his sword, scabbard, staff and boots, he makes no reference to a shield of device. In another place Geoffrey says, 'There might you have seen many a banner and pennon of various forms floating on the breeze ; many a mother's son, people of various nations, arms of various shape, and helmets with crests, brilliant with jewels, and shining mails, and shields, emblazoned with lions and flying dragons in gold.' From the punctuation employed by Bohn's translators from the very corrupt Latin text, this passage is not decisive. Rather more to the point is Joinville's statement that when he was at the Crusades with Louis IX., he reminded that king that his father, Louis VIII., in a previous Crusade, wore his dress made of good sendal (taffety) lined and *strengthened with his arms*. The latter king was born in 1187 and died 1226, so that his period is well within the early age of regular heraldry.

Smith Ellis, quoting Gale's *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, gives an engraved seal attached to a charter of Stephen, Earl of Richmond, who died, he states, in 1137 (other authorities say 1160 and 1164). This equestrian figure wears an armorial

surcoat, powdered with *fleurs de lis*, which flowers are repeated on the shield. This offers a very early example of an armorial surcoat, accompanied, it is true, by an armorial shield. The ancient practice at funerals, of bearing the deceased's surcoat of arms, as well as his shield and helmet, is worthy of mention. The English and foreign heralds have always borne their arms on their tabards from the earliest times, and I know of no instance of their carrying shields.

Hewitt, in his work quoted above, gives many early examples of the surcoat, both with and without the shield. The most curious, and apparently the earliest of these, is the painted figure in the Jerusalem Chamber, representing a knight on horseback wearing a very large flowing coat of arms, who also bears an armorial shield, and who wears mail chausses, which latter attest the early date of the figure. The same author remarks (i. 273): 'The armorial surcoat was a necessary result of the visored helm; for when the visor was closed, it was no longer possible to distinguish king from subject, leader from stranger, comrade from foe. A similar inconvenience had already been found in the nasal helmet. At the field of Hastings, Duke William was obliged to remove the bar from his face, in order to convince his followers that he was still alive. The figure of William Longuespée (Earl of Salisbury) at Salisbury (died 1226) still exhibits a portion of the heraldic decoration of the surcoat.' Longuespée also bears an armorial shield, but this example of a surcoat is sufficiently early in its period to prove that the wearing of surcoats was coincident with the birth of armory; as the bearer died in 1226, it would have been possible for him to have attended King Richard I.'s crusade in 1190.

The costume of the Knights Templars offers a very early example of the wearing of a symbol on the garment, as the Templars wore their crosses conspicuously on their cloaks during the earlier crusades. The effigies of the Templars in the Temple Church represent them in long surcoats, and accompanied with their armorial shields. That their surcoats now bear neither cross nor other heraldic symbol is probably due to the effacement of the colouring after more than six centuries of inattentive custody. Hewitt attributes the absence of heraldic bearings on many such existing surcoats to be due to the wear of time, and to the perishability of colouring pigments.

On the subject of early armorial bearings, the following is quoted from *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*, by Mr. Joseph Foster, M.A.: 'These symbols or badges were not only borne on shields, but were also paynted on silken surcotes worne over their shirts of mail' (and also upon the caparisons of their horses—see the Arundel or Military Roll and Seals). 'But these surcotes of silk, being at firste made wide and girt close to them at ye waist, did, by reason of their pleates, oftymes confound the marks so paynted on them, which being discerned, they were afterwards made straight and playne, so that ye same marks which stood eminently to be seen on the shield was also as visible on the surcoat before and behind and being thus depicted on them gave ye first occasion of calling them cotes of armes' (Stowe MS. 166, fo. 16). I am aware that some of these references appear only to point to the simultaneous evolution of the surcoat, banners and shields.

You refer me to the learned Planché to confute my error. In his *History of Costume*, page 55, referring to surcoats, he says he sees no reason for differing from the suggestion first advanced by Meyrick, that surcoats were adopted during the Crusades to distinguish the various leaders. As regular heraldry is also held to have arisen during the Crusades, it would follow that these distinguishing surcoats must have borne their wearers' armorial devices. Other considerations identify the origin of heraldry with garments. The sash or guige—shield suspender—would occupy the position of the present bend. The belt or girdle would occupy the present fess point. The belt or girdle was the pre-eminent emblem of knighthood. In *The Ancestor*, ii. 159–60, is an instance of the bend having been considered in ancient times as synonymous with the sash, and where a fourteenth century poet is quoted, who speaks of a knight riding with his green bend in his banner, and also wearing it as a sash. We know that ladies conferred their maunches or sleeves upon their champions at tournaments, and the Abernethy black ribbon, or narrow bendlet—borne above a lion rampant—is probably a repetition of a tournament surcoat. The following terms suggest the close connection between garments and heraldry, viz. diaper, gore, gusset, sleeve, ribbon, fillet, garter, knots, and the furs of various kinds, besides buckles and other ornaments of attire.

In La Croix's *Military and Religious Life of the Middle Ages*, p. 165, he refers to coats of arms as having probably been derived

from the Crusades, and states that it is supposed that the necessity of distinguishing between the multitude of nobles and knights who flocked to the Holy Land led to the different heraldic colours and devices. He adds, 'These emblems were to be found on tents, banners, liveries, clothes, and on every object belonging to a noble family.'

The presence of furs and buckles in armory is manifestly due to their having been first worn upon garments, and the archbishops' palls, borne in very early episcopal arms, would not have found their way at all from their place as ornaments of the priestly robes, to the position of ordinaries in their shields, if my supposition be incorrect. How came they 'in that galley'?

As to Crusaders' swords in the Soudan, the tradition of the emirs, which I quoted from one of our highest military authorities, pertains only to the emirs' own splendid cross hilted weapons, and not to the common swords carried by the 'Fuzzy Wuzzies,' which swords you say are obtainable of the dealers at a pound or so each. I know nothing of those common swords, but I possess a remarkably fine ancient sword, captured from an emir, i.e. a chieftain, at Abu Klea, and that bears what appears to be a European old swordmaker's mark. After General Kitchener's victory at Firket, his spoils included two ancient swords, one of which bore a black-letter inscription in French on the blade. We know that in the eighth Crusade, Louis IX. with his whole army was captured in Egypt, and that his opponents included some tribes of Bedouin Arabs. Of course it is possible that these old weapons found their way there later, just as Africa is still the casting off ground for European obsolete war implements. We have an early instance of this, quoted in the *Archæological Journal*, xxxvii. 194, where it is stated that Jacques Cœur, a merchant of Paris, was indicted in 1442 for supplying armour to the 'Soldan of Babylon,' as the Khalif of Egypt was then called.

With regard to my query whether the surnames of Lupus and Corbet might not have been taken from the *cognoissances* which they bore, you represent me as suggesting that they might have taken them from their *arms*. I need scarcely put it to you that these are scarcely convertible terms. Planché distinguishes very clearly between simple *cognoissances* and the subsequently established coat of arms, and I, knowing the remote antiquity of these surnames, particularly avoided

suggesting a connection with coats of arms. You strongly protest that no one by the name of Lupus ever lived in England in ancient times. I never stated that he did, but you are doubtless aware that the eminent Camden distinctly recorded in his *Britannia* that Hugh Lupus was created Earl of Chester, and he devoted a page and a half of that work to describing Lupus and his feudatories and descendants. Surely no one will accuse the profound Camden of 'intellectual pottering.'

I concluded the last letter which you criticize by asking for additional light from English and foreign students of heraldry, and would now beg to repeat that appeal to your readers at home and abroad. The last words on heraldry as a relic of antiquity have not yet been spoken, nor have the ascertained facts, pictorial evidences, and manuscript and ancient literary remains throughout Europe been sufficiently compared and classified. We are, I hope, all seeking for truth in the modern critical, scientific—and I trust courteous—spirit. When we think respected authorities are in error, we may try to set them right, with no other desire than to arrive at a just idea of things relating to 'the antiquary time.'

Yours faithfully,

W. CECIL WADE.

PLYMOUTH,

19 Feb. 1903.

[Mr. Wade cannot be held responsible for Mr. Smith Ellis's blunders, or for Georg Rûxner's forgeries, but at his own risk he has chosen to point out for our consideration the *Thurnierbuch* imagined by the one and quoted by the other. Mr. Wade's own responsibility lies in the fact that he brought forward the *leges bastiludiales* as something to be reckoned with by antiquaries. If he gave no credit himself to this story of tenth century tournaments tricked out with armorial anachronisms which would hardly deceive a Drury Lane *costumier*, why was this blacklisted forgery brought up again for judgment? If on the other hand Mr. Wade was willing to give his hand to Master Georg Rûxner on the introduction of Mr. Ellis, the fact that Dallaway and Hewitt were earlier victims of the *Thurnierbuch* hardly excuses his own error. If Mr. Wade desires to study ancient armory to any purpose he must first rid himself of the courteous weakness which would have him regard any familiar name upon a fat book as a 'respected authority.' In this matter we have no 'respected authorities' to cling to. Even Planché's clever *Pursuivant of Arms*,

is nothing more than the suggestive pamphlet of a pioneer, and a pamphlet sorely needing the revision which succeeding editions never gave it.

The archæology of armory has, as yet, no canonical books, and what Mr. Dallaway said, what Mr. Ellis said, or what the modern armorial picturebook makers say, are no more evidence than was 'what the soldier said.'

It may be that Mr. Wade misapprehends us. It is not doubtful that the devices upon shields were at an early period repeated upon coats and banners. But upon what grounds are we asked to set on foot an enquiry into the question whether the devices, of which the earliest forms known to us appear on the shields, for whose triangular spaces they were so manifestly planned, were at some vague and earlier time depicted upon coats alone and not upon shields?

We may take it that Mr. Wade has not invited research without some ground for the enquiry, but, nevertheless, let us arrange his justificatory pieces in order.

First the jibbah with its mysterious patches—armorial patches to Mr. Wade's mind. Surely we have not far to go for its origin, representing as it does the patched and mended garment of a disciple of Mahdism, careless of wordly things, to which an emir's jibbah bears the same relation as the neat black dressing gown of a modern friar with its nattily knotted white cord bears to the beggar's garment which St. Francis belted to his middle with a rope's end. The jibbah then adds little to our comparative study of ancient armory.

Then come we to King Richard's saddle whose peak is said to have borne in 1190 two lions of gold turned towards one another. As beasts in such fashion have ornamented arched pieces in every age, even as we see them on the gates of Mykenae, there is nothing noteworthy about this gaudy saddlery; and how are we the nearer to proving that the kings of our land bore golden beasts upon their coats before they bore them on their shields? Upon what wrong horse is Mr. Wade fitting this gilded saddle?

Next we have King Richard's coat itself, and here, we may imagine, Mr. Wade has come to his point. The leopards of England are doubtless embroidered here. But no, the king's vesture is a rose-coloured stuff with a figuring of crescents, and Mr. Wade will hardly persuade us that King Richard's arms were a powdering of silver crescents on pink silk. And here at last we have the shields 'emblazoned with lions and flying dragons in gold.' Truly, if this be the first and most important evidence brought forward to persuade us that arms upon coats are an earlier fashion than arms upon shields Mr. Wade's view of the value of evidence is not ours. That the figures in the Temple Church have arms upon shields and many have had them in former times painted on their coats is another piece of evidence of a like character. William Longsword died in 1226, and bears on

the tomb set up after his death a coat of arms as well as a shield of arms. From this Mr. Wade deduces the fact that coats of arms are coincident with the birth of armory, for Longsword might have been present with King Richard in 1190, on the great day of the pink vest. It does not occur to Mr. Wade that he might have gone a-crusading in some other garment than the one pictured on his tomb a long generation later.

The presence of buckles upon armorial shields is readily made an argument by Mr. Wade that arms appeared first upon garments, for buckles buckle garments together. But hammers and trivets and butcher's fleshpots, and a dozen other pieces of minor ironmongery appear upon early shields without suggesting to the most of us that these charges developed from some portion of the knight's clothing, unless, indeed, Alice's White Knight be kept before us as our mirror of a fully equipped knight. Turnips appear on German shields venerable for their age, and there is no need to argue that they came there from the vegetable ration once carried round his neck by the warrior upon the road. Why then should buckles have any special significance?

Mr. Wade gives us a list of heraldic words showing the intimate connection of early armory with garments, and our respect for his researches into early armory suffers when we find that the most part of these gores, gussets, ribbons, fillets, and the rest are terms from the ragbag of the pedants, who invented them in the latter days of nonsense heraldry.

Mr. Wade should understand that although we have chosen to pull to pieces his argument for coats before shields, we are guiltless of the folly of denying the antiquity of arms on coats. In very early days the charges of the shield appear upon its owner's coat, banner and horsetrappers. Let us by all means seek for the beginning of armory. Some of us are at work already; but to set about our search with a purpose to show that the coat of arms is older than the shield, an idea for which no single authority can be quoted, were a course hardly in accord with the mood in which the antiquary of to-day should follow his calling.

The 'Crusaders' swords with which Mr. Wade arms his Sudani emirs have, as we foretold, shrunk to a few ancient European sword-blades. Every collector knows that an example of such blades, generally of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, appears occasionally in Africa, but had the officers of El Mahdi taken the field with but a reasonable number of the swords of the crusaders strapped to the saddle-peaks of their camels, the loot of Mr. Atkins after Atbara and Khartum would have made a season's sensation at the London sale rooms.

For Mr. Wade's pre-Conquest *cognoissances* we know little or nothing of such, and it is possible that for their very existence Mr. Wade leans too heavily upon a line of a poem whose date is not contemporary

with the Conquest which he writes of, and which is therefore no authority for us. In any case they will help him nothing. Mr. Wade's suggestion, as we understand it, was that Hugh 'Lupus' took his name from his cognizance or bearing. To this we made, as it seemed to us, sufficient answer by pointing out that the epithet of 'wolf' was not applied to Hugh the fat during his lifetime, and that we know of no cognizance of his until we come to the shield of arms invented for him, with the epithet, centuries after his death. That the 'profound Camden' was unaware of this fact is quite beside the point. Attila, by the historians who came after him, is styled 'the scourge of God.' For the derivation of this surname need we go about guessing that the family *cognissance* of the house of Attila was a Cat garnished with Nine Tails.

For these reasons we have miscalled Mr. Wade's proposed enquiries as 'intellectual pottering,' and there is something of gentle reproach in the last paragraph of his answer. Pottering is perhaps a word smelling of offence, and we withdraw it. But for the poverty of our language we can find no word to put in its place.—ED.]

THE PUZZLE OF THE KEY

SIR—

In *The Ancestor* for January, 1903 (p. 44), Lord Hylton gives an interesting account of a portrait of Thomas Jolliffe of Cofton Hackett in Worcestershire (sheriff in 1672), in which he describes him as holding a key, evidently of some significance.

In the ancient manor house of Kyre Wyard in Worcestershire is a full length portrait on panel of Sir Edward Pytts, sheriff for the county in 1612. He is dressed in a black doublet, long black hose, a ruff, spurs, and a gold belt from which hangs his sword, on which he lays his left hand; his right hand rests on the shoulder of his young grandson, dressed in a long frock of red and white brocade of handsome design. Suspended round his neck from a ribbon (brownish red in colour) is a small key and a sort of Tudor medal or brooch fastened under his left arm.

Over Sir Edward Pytts is the legend:—

ÆTATIS SUÆ · 71 · AUGUSTI 10 — 1612.

Over the boy:—

ÆTATIS SUÆ · 6 · FEBRUARII 22 — 1612.

Sir Edward was born on St. Laurence's Day (10 Aug.) 1541. He died 1618. His will is dated 28 December, 1617. He was a Bencher of the Temple and 'Filazer' for London.

Middlesex, Huntingdon and Cambridge. He built the existing hall at Kyre, and left a valuable library of early printed books and many MS. heraldic books illustrated by his own hand. His account of the restoration and rebuilding of 'Kyre Court' was published in the *Antiquary* of August and September, 1890. He was succeeded by his son and heir, Sir James Pytts, who married Mary daughter of Sir Arthur Heveningham of Heveningham in Suffolk. The boy in the picture was their son and eventual successor.

Mr. Baldwyn Childe was the direct descendant in the female line of Sir Edward Pytts; the male line became extinct in 1807.

It will be interesting if any reader of *The Ancestor* can explain the significance of the key in these portraits. Can it be a badge of the shrievalty?

FRANCES C. BALDWIN CHILDE.

KYRE PARK, WORCESTER.

DE PENTHENY-O'KELLY OF TARA

SIR—

If the genealogist of the present day wants a little real enjoyment, let him buy a copy of the *Dictionary of Landed Gentry*, by J. and J. B. Burke (London, 1849), and glance through its pages. It will be hard indeed if he does not obtain much amusement and some information of sorts too from it.

On page 1350b we are told that Edmund de Pentheny-O'Kelly, by heredity Lord of Tara, 'derives in direct line from Sir Robert de Repenteneye, a Norman knight of noble family who accompanied the Conqueror to England and founded the priory of Penteney in Norfolk in 1066. Et seq. (*sic*) (vide Dugdale's *Monasticon*).'

His descendant is, further on, said to have settled in Ireland *since* the year A.D. 1252 [this is extremely probable]. Premising that Mr. De Pentheny-O'Kelly is only descended from the Penthenys in the female line, and that consequently the 'direct line' is an initial mistake, let us see what is to be found by investigation.

The concoctor kindly refers us to Dugdale's *Monasticon*, so we will turn to that authority first, and see what he says about

the priory, which was so hastily founded after Hastings that it was begun the same year.

But, alas ! he only tells me what I knew before, viz. that Pentney Priory in Norfolk was founded by Robert de Vallibus or Vaux, and not by Robert de Repenteneye, and that it is only guesswork to suppose that it was founded in the time of the Conqueror at all. Carthew, in his *History of Launditch*, ascribes it to the reign of Stephen, and the pedigree which he gives (i. 249) of the Vaux family says, I need hardly say, never a word of the de Repenteneyes. Nor does Blomefield, nor the Calendar of the Norfolk Fines, nor in fact any other work on Norfolk have a word about people of such a name—which, in fact, is an impossible surname. One cannot but admire the colossal, the stupendous effrontery of publishing such a pedigree, and actually supplying the reader with the very reference which proves the falsity without ‘harping’ too much on the subject. I will leave it to some Irish genealogist to take up the wondrous tale *from* 1252 and say if the Tara Hall part of it be equally unfounded.

I do not see any reference to the de Repenteneyes in the last edition of Marshall’s *Genealogist’s Guide*, so perhaps the present members of the family have ‘Repentenized’ of it !

WALTER RYE.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LEIGHTONS

SIR—

The paper on this ancient Shropshire house in the last number of *The Ancestor* (p. 115) fails to give a complete idea of the wild follies by which the Peerage books obscured its interesting origin and made it appear ridiculous. When Professor Freeman, in his article on ‘Pedigrees and pedigree-makers,’ swooped down upon *Burke’s Peerage*, the Leighton legend, as it then appeared, stirred him to special wrath.

‘It is wonderful,’ he wrote, ‘how many of the absurd tales which fill the pages of Sir Bernard Burke may be at once cast to the winds by the simple process of turning to Domesday.’

It is wonderful how many and how stately fabrics of falsehood fall away before the touch of the great record. I open Sir Bernard Burke at a venture, and I light upon the following wonderful statements :—

¹ *Contemporary Review*, xxx. 17-19.

‘Totilus de Leton, whose name appears in the Domesday Book as a landed proprietor in the co. Salop, was grandfather of

Sir Titus de Leighton, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, who, on his return from the Holy Land, was a joint founder of the Abbey of Buildwas in Salop. His son

Sir Richard de Leighton, Knight, had a reconveyance from William Fitz-Alan, soon after the Conquest, of the manor of Leighton.’

Mr. Freeman proceeded to place Totilus and Titus in the pillory :—

How did they come by their strange names? If Totilus was a landed proprietor in Domesday, how came his grandson¹ to be getting reconveyances soon after the Conquest? Are Totilus and Titus supposed to be Englishmen or Normans? Nomenclature, commonly a safe guide, here fails us, as Totilus and Titus would certainly have had their names all to themselves among the men of either nation. In short, Totilus and Titus, the Knight of the Sepulchre, are both so grotesquely absurd that it is hardly worth while looking for their names. . . . But what shall we say to the Ulster King-at-Arms, who must have the means of knowing better, but who reprints all this folly in a thirty-second edition, which has gone through searching revision and extensive amendment?²

It is sometimes erroneously supposed that to substitute a true for a fabulous pedigree deprives the story of a family of all interest. The case of the Leightons is proof to the contrary, for the ascertainment of its Breton origin, as revealed by the fact that its patriarch ‘Tiel’ bore a distinctively Breton name, combined with his appearance as a vassal of the great house of Fitz Alan, points in a conclusive manner to Tihel or his father having been one of those Bretons who followed the Stewarts’ ancestor, Alan Fitz Flaald, to England in the reign of Henry I.³

J. HORACE ROUND.

PRESCRIPTIVE USAGE OF ARMS

SIR,—

To the question of prescriptive usage as applied to coats of arms an anonymous writer in *The Ancestor* has lately devoted some attention, and he quotes a letter (which he evidently regards as conclusive authority) of Sir William Dugdale written in 1668. That famous Garter writing to a herald-painter states, of a certain claim to arms, that he would allow it if the arms had been used ‘from the beginning of Elizabeth’s

¹ Great-grandson according to the pedigree.

² Compare *Ancestor*, i. 190.

³ Compare *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 122-4.

reign or about that date, for our directions are limiting us to do so and not a shorter prescription of usage.'

This anonymous writer commenting therein states and italicizes his statement, that this prescription was under a hundred years, an evident arithmetical oversight on his part for which it would be unkind to reprimand him in the acidulous manner now too common with heraldic writers.

The question of prescription however cannot be settled by an *obiter dictum* of even so famous a genealogist as was Sir William Dugdale, whose authority on the point is no greater than that of his distinguished successor Sir Albert Woods, who has the experience and practice and customs of some two hundred years more to serve as his guide. It would be more to the point to find out what authority Sir William had for setting up his prescription of a hundred years. Probably he had none, and that in following this rule of a hundred years he, by a good-natured laxity, merely set up inferentially in support of the prescription on claim a 'lost grant,' a favourite legal fiction. The period of prescription, except when explicitly altered by statute, is the constantly receding date of the reign of King Richard the First, a date at which heraldry was still in the embryonic stage. If it be suggested that custom is law in the matter, and that an isolated *obiter dictum* of a seventeenth century Garter, addressed in an unofficial letter to a mere herald painter, is sufficient evidence of such a custom, then it may be replied that customs may become obsolete, and that the long settled practice of the modern kings of arms may be a better and safer heraldic guide than any of the doings of Sir William Dugdale. It is strange that *The Ancestor*, whilst refusing the pedantries of Elizabethan heralds, is willing to accept the irregularities of a Caroline Garter. Put briefly the position is this: Would the high court of justice issue a mandamus to Garter king of arms to compel him to accept and record armorial bearings of which the right exists on mere prescriptive usage? If not, then *cadit questio*.

'Prescription,' after all, is a legal rather than an heraldic question, and, as applied to coats of arms, it is to be discussed in the same way as we should discuss 'prescription' as affecting titles of honour.

I am, Sir, etc.,

W. P. W. PHILLIMORE.

[When our correspondent applies the words *obiter dictum* to a

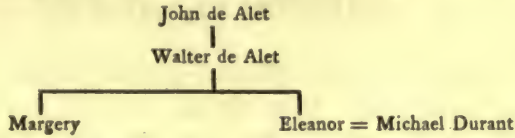
deliberate statement made by an officer of arms in answer to a question concerning his official practice it is evident that the words do not convey to him the meaning which they would convey to other Latinists. *The Ancestor* does not warrant every contention raised by those who contribute to its columns; but in this case we are bound to confess that, were the choice open to us, we would rather choose to abide by the practice of one whom Mr. Phillimore styles 'a famous genealogist' than by any customs which have sprung up after him during the centuries in which, as is admitted by all, armory has decayed to a fit subject for ridicule. Decayed to such a point that were a would-be 'armigerous gent' to make the application to the high court which Mr. Phillimore invites him to make he would certainly gain more ridicule than redress for his woes.—ED.]

LUPUS

SIR,—

In your remarks upon Mr. Wade's article in the *Ex Libris Journal*, you say that 'no one in England was ever called Lupus to our knowledge.' You will not, I trust, consider me discourteous when I venture to say that you are fortunate. With all my heart I wish I could say the same. Not one, but two *Lupi* have been giving me a terrible time of it for some weeks past. If any of your readers could identify them, say who they are and where they come from, I should be very grateful. Both occur in the same pedigree, and the pedigree is sufficiently well known. It is that of Arundell of Trerice as given in Vivian and Drake's 'Visitation of Cornwall' (*Harl. Soc.*), pp. 271, 272. There we read (1) that John Arundell of Trerice married Jane daughter of Lupus of Tredannam (temp. Ed. I); (2) that Sir John Arundell of Trerice, great-grandson of the above, married Jane daughter and coheiress of Lupus of Carantock, and 'heire to her mother ye da. and heir of Durant.' The popular accounts of the Arundells omit all reference to Lupus, striking out the first John and his wife, and for wife of the second John substituting Jane, daughter and heiress of John Durant, in place of Jane 'da. and coh. of Lupus.' Upon the solution of this problem depends the accuracy of an account which I am endeavouring to give of the devolution of several manors in the county of Cornwall. A pedigree of Durant—if such can be had—would probably help to clear the matter up. I am bound to confess that I consider the popular account more likely to be correct than that of the 'Visitation.' And for this reason: In tracing the history of the manor of Alet,

in the parish of Kenwyn, by what I venture to consider a piece of very good fortune, I came across the following pedigree in the Close Rolls (12 & 14 Ed. II.) :—



The *Inq. p.m.* taken on the death of Walter de Alet (2 Ed. II.) tells us that Margery was then nine years of age and Eleanor six. A fine levied 2 Henry V. shows that this manor among others was settled upon John Arundell and Joan his wife, with remainder in part to one Thomas Woyne, and in part to the heirs of John Arundell. The duchy records show that a portion was still with the Arundells in 1620. Lysons omits all reference to the Alet family, of whom he does not seem to have been aware, and attributes the Arundell inheritance of the moiety to an Arundell descent from Lansladron, one of whom (as the Close Rolls show) had a life interest in the whole manor.

From what has been written it would seem therefore that the chief desideratum in order to solve the difficulty is a pedigree of Durant.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

THO. TAYLOR.

S. JUST-IN-PENWITH VICARAGE,
19 Jan. 1903.

[All that we denied concerning the name *Lupus* was the probability of a surname in England taking that Latin form in actual use outside the Latin of the charters. Wolf or Loup are probable enough and Loup we have ourselves found in the west country. We suggest to Mr. Taylor that a light is thrown upon the association of *Lupus* with the puzzling pedigree of Arundel by the very curious difference of arms which appears upon the seal of Sir John Arundel, lord of Tremblyth, who seals (in 45 Edw. III.) with a shield bearing the six martlets or hirondels of Arundel with a *wolf* between them. His grandson seals with the same coat quartered with Carminow and bears a crest of a wolf upon his hat of estate.—ED.]

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE *Ancestor* in this present number begins its second year in good courage. Five plump volumes upon the shelf and a growing list of subscribers, from the Shan States to Temple Bar, show that the past of our race and the story of our fathers can go to make pages which may be read, if we give credit to our good friends the reviewers, by a wider round of folk than the few antiquaries who heretofore were all who could be coaxed to patronage of an archæological review. From the first we have striven to make a journal the half of which might be read by men and women of liberal culture who are yet no specialists. Our second half we have packed with hard fact, for which the working antiquary has professed himself grateful. And here we may say that in the many hundreds of pages before us there must be, and to our bitter knowledge there are, many errors, many carelessnesses, and here and there a mistake which would persuade us that when outside matter for our column of 'What is Believed' fails us *The Ancestor* may yet feed on its own breast even as the meek pelican.

* * *

The joint petition of the Countess of Yarborough and the Countess of Powis, daughters and co-heirs of the late Lord Conyers, to have the abeyance of the baronies of Fauconberg, Darcy de Knayth and Meinill determined in their favour has raised several points of interest in peerage law. The barony of Fauconberg has been in abeyance, it is claimed, since 1463, and the heirs of its senior co-heiress have not been traced. In addition to this difficulty the claim has raised the questions whether the so-called Parliament of 1283 can be treated as such for peerage purposes, and whether 'the Barons' Letter to the Pope' in 1301 can be adduced as proof of sitting. Both the copies of this letter, with the seals formerly appendant, were brought from the Record Office to the House of Lords, and examined with much interest by the Committee for Privileges.

* * *

The Darcy claim turned mainly on the construction to be

placed on the notable patent of 1641, by which Conyers Darcy, then co-heir to the baronies of Conyers and Darcy, was given both those baronies, but with limitation to his heirs *male*. The alleged barony of Meinill existed only, as a separate dignity, in the person of Nicholas de Meinill, who was summoned to Parliament under Edward III., but of whose sitting there was no proof. Two members of the Darcy family were summoned as Lords Darcy and Meinill in the seventeenth century, but one of them was not even a co-heir of the above Nicholas. It is understood that Mr. Round was consulted by the Crown on some of the points raised.

* * *

Mr. Bruce Bannerman, F.S.A., who lately edited for the Harleian Society the *Heralds' Visitations of Surrey*, is setting about the formation of a Parish Register Society for Surrey. We wish him and his associates good fortune in their most praiseworthy endeavour to rescue some of the most valuable of our public records from the fate which has overtaken so many parish registers in the past, a fate which, as many an antiquary can testify, has not yet finished its meal of birth, death and marriage books.

* * *

But in view of certain facts it would be well to consider the ground very carefully before the press begins to put forth copies of Surrey parish register books. Those facts are as follows. The Harleian Society and many local societies, especially those organized by Mr. Phillimore, have printed and are printing what we must call a very large number of parish registers. Mr. Crisp has printed many at his private press, and many another antiquary has issued privately some register which has an especial interest for him. It is notorious that most of this good work is very scantily supported by the subscriptions of the public, and even the antiquary is beginning to grudge his subscription to a new parish register book.

* * *

This is not apathy and nothing else, an apathy which can be denounced and stirred by lectures and circulars. It must be considered that no man whose name is not written large in his banker's book can face the prospect of subscribing year by year to an increasing number of books whose size threatens the space upon his shelves even as their cost menaces his purse.

The first duty of a parish register society is to be instant in season and out of season in pressing for legislation which shall provide a central, safe and accessible depository for these precious parish books, upon which hang the story of most men's line of ancestry, the keys to so many wicket gates of biography and history. It cannot be that this warm-hearted Government which has dried the tears of the lacerated subaltern, will always refuse to move in a matter which is of national importance, and in which as a consequence a possible hundred people are more or less interested.

* * *

The next duty of a parish register society is to keep the good black ink and sound paper which it will doubtless select from being wasted upon unnecessary trivialities. We do not go to the parish registers for such facts as that our seventeenth century ancestors spelt daughter as dafter or doghter, or son as sonn or sonne. These are surely commonplaces which even the sucklings of archæology will take for granted. We do not take up a printed parish register to read it for its literary value, to while away pleasant hours in noting that the 'weare mared in this church' becomes 'were marred' and 'was marr^d' in adjacent entries. Our object is to know, and as quickly as may be, whose son was Tom, whom Jack married, and when Harry was buried. Therefore when the too careful scribe would transcribe for print such an entry as 'Jeames Sumbody y^e sonne of Thomas Sumbody of this parish of Sumware and of Marie his wiffe was babtized y^e fourth daie of Maie in the yere 1623,' let him save his labour, the printer's labour, the society's guineas, and the reader's patience by shortening the passage to—

1623. May 4. James, s. Thomas and Mary Sumbody
of Sumware, C.,

or some like form, with J. for John, if he will, T. for Thomas and M. for Mary.

It is very clear that unless we can make the printed parish register handier, cheaper and again cheaper than it has been in the past we shall see the subscriptions for such an enterprise dry up at their source. And such a tightening of purse strings would be reasonable enough and a thousand pities.

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